

A discourse vpon the present estate of France.

Together with a copie of the kings let-
ters patens, declaring his mind after
his departure out of Paris.

Whereunto is added the copie of two letters
written by the Duke of Guize.

*Translated out of French into English: And now newly
reprinted, and corrected by E. Aggas.*



Imprinted. . 1 5 8 8.

A discourse upon the

present state of France.

By the Hon^{ble} John Locke

Esq^r Member of the Hon^{ble} House of Commons

his departure out of Paris.

Wherunto is added the copie of two letters

written by the Duke of Guise.

Translated out of French into English: And now newly
reprinted, and corrected by H. Aggas.



A Discourse vpon the present estate
of France.



Ost men doo say, that it is a pleasure to behold from the shore, the waues to swell, and to marke from the land howe the storme and the windes play with the Sea. I belecue it well: and it is as much to say, as that it is better to see a daunger a farre off, then to be in it. But if from the toppe of a Cliffe I should perceiue a shippe wherein either I had a share, or my friends were enclosed, in daunger of being cast away, and without helpe, caried against the rocks by the currants and tempest; what a griefe were it vnto me, to finde my selfe at such a spectacle. If *France* were nothing vnto me, and I knew her state as exactly as I doo, it were no matter vnto me to discourse of it: when men shoulde bring me the newes, I would take them indifferently: yea I should receiue them without any passion, being otherwise glad to be out of her broiles, and heare talke of her stirrings with as little commotion and feare, as if one should rehearle vnto me things that happened at *Rome* vnder *Tiberius* or *Nero*. I can not being a Frenchman: no I cannot so do, seeing the onely barke of my hope, the vessel wherein I haue all that which is dearest vnto me, and which of it selfe is dearer vnto me than my selfe, now see runne to wreake my cuntry, my first mother, whom such sundrie diseases haue brought to extremity, hardly panting out her last gaspe. But there is no remedie: yet some parte of the griefe passeth away with crying: and such wordes as sorrow wresteth out of our hearts, are more violent then those which ioy bringeth forth. If at anie time in our affliction wee sigh out some extraordinarie speeches, witnesses of our griefe, they are more listened vnto, then if they came from a carelesse minde, quailed with continuall contentations: which also bringeth forth no other then vulgar matter. These accordingly shall deserue commendati-

on of cheir matter onely, and not for any order or methode. Others doo seruice vnto their countrey with their bodies & goods. They doo well, seeing they bee able : as for me, I can but lament mine owne, I bestow onely my teares on her, hauing nothing else left that might stande her in any speede : I commend those men, let them not blame mee : I will doo as they doo when I shalbe able : and they as I do, when they are brought to this passe.

My *Ducans*, lying idle in the countrey whether other busineses had lead mee, I heard the first reporte of the kinges driuing out of *Paris* by the Duke of *Guize*. As all matters are made greater, according as men esteeme of them, so was there this first report. Euerie one doth bring foorth his passions in steed of comments, vpon such newes as are told him, I know not whether being infected with this common vice, I did presently glose vpon this reporte : well doo I remember, that euen then I answered vnto some that were speaking to me of it, that I could scarce beleue that the matter was fallen out so rawly, although I did esteeme the one capable enough of such a feare, yet woulde I neuer haue thought altogether such presumption to haue remained in the other, At that time or soone after, there were two sundry peeces of worke brought vnto mee : the one is a declaration of the King, vpon that which happened against himselfe at *Paris*, the 12. of *May* : but that so colde, so timorous as nothing more; much like vnto a man that complaineth, and yet dare not name him of whome hee hath beene beaten : like vnto a man that is afraid least that his enemy bee yet in his choller, and will not be content with that harme which he hath done him already. Hee dare not say that hee hath beene constrained to flie, neither that he hath been driuen out : he dareth not terme it an iniurie, much lesse declare, that hee will punish it. Hee commandeth no more his people, but intreateth them. And to make vp the matter, (which is the most shamefullest of all) hee willeth prayers to bee made in the Churches, to the ende that this quarrell may bee appealed, euen as if hee should feare that Monsieur de *Guize* were offended that he had not suffered himselfe to haue been taken in the Louure, but fled away. The other cleane contrarie, were

were two letters of the Duke of *Guize*, the one vnto the King, the other publike, both letters of a souldiour, braue ones, couragious, whereby he gallantly commends himselfe of his dooing: saith that God did put that daie into his hands the meanes of a notable peece of seruice, rehearseth it with few and stout wordes, without anie shew of feare, neither thinking to haue done amisse. Last of all, hee concludeth with a resolute threatening, that in spite of all the world, he will maintaine the Catholikes side, and driue from the king such as doo fauour the Heretikes, meaning the Duke of *Espernon*. My *Dicens*, this hath mooued mee to send them vnto you, you are curious of such matters: and euen withall, the verie indignation hath drawn from me this discourse of the state of *France*, such as it is now a daies, whereby you may iudge the better of these two writings. Publish it, if you thinke it good, so that you keepe in your name and mine, for wee are called to other affaires. If not, keepe it in your studie.

France is diuided into three factions. The Duke of *Guize* and his kinsmen on the one side: as the dukes of *Maine*, of *Aumall*, of *Elbeuf*, of *Merceur*, his brethren or cousins germaine, to my iudgement holde that which seemeth the greatest, and that is it, which with their partakers, they call the holic League. The king holds the second, the most lawfull, but the weakest. The king of *Nauarre* and some Catholike Princes of the bloud, My Lordes of *Mountmorency*, chiefe Officer of the Crowne, of *Turaine*, of *Chastillon*, and many other noble men, as well of the religion as Catholikes: the third, which may be termed the iustest in deede, and as yet the surest. I call the first, the greatest: be it, because there is likelihood that it is deriued, and as it were a member of the generall conspiracie of all the Catholike Princes of Christendome, vnited and confederat together vnder the authoritie of the Pope, to make warre against those which make profession of the religion: be it, because this band is newe, and rare nouelties doo for a while carrie away all: an argument whereof wee may gather in the shew that the Protestantes during the first troubles made in this Realme, where they had seised vppon all the good townes sauing one or

2^e par

Exe
in flr
 1. *and*
Exe
 2. *and*
 3. *Exe*
surest
Exe
Exe
Exe
 1.

2.

two onelie, and yet within the space of one yeare they had neuer a one left: or finally, for that it was framed among the Catholikes, who doo in number farre exceede the Protestants, and who, albeit they be not wholly in all and through al of the League, do yet notwithstanding agree in this point, that they will the preleruation of their religion, & so seeme to fauour those that vndertake the defence thereof: all which in deede do make this first faction to seeme the greatest at this time, albeit that in troth it neither is, neither can so continue. I saide that the kinges was the lawfulest, No man dare denie it: So long as according to his owne will he ruled his people, he onely was obeyed, and so might still be if he list: but this list must come vpon him betimes, for if it lingereth but a little longer, and that euerie man perceiue that in his dominions any man may lawfullie not onely disobey him, but euen coope with him without danger, he shall neuer recouer his authoritie: God hath planted the meanes in his onely courage. I said likewise that his faction was the weakest. It is true: albeit it seemeth otherwise, yet it is so, as by sundrie reasons we may prooue. First, the king who ruleth, hath so behaued himselfe that euerie man knoweth that of the three heads of the three factions, he is the weakest, he standeth in greatest feare, hee dareth enterprise least: and contrariwise, that he is the man against whome euerie man dare most safely and easely vndertake what they list. He I say hath taken such a course that now he hath nothing left wherewith to detaine the mindes of his subiects in his obedience, sauing onely the auncient regarde that they haue of their kings, together with the custome of the realme: which in truth are most mightie meanes in a peaceable estate, and yet such a ciuill warre of foure yeares continuance onely, is able as easely to subuert it, as heretofore it hath don in shorter space at Rome and all other places where it hath lighted: for it springeth onely of a contempt and disdain of the Prince, which are contrarie both to duetie and maiestie. And then iudge you what one of thirtie yeares continuance, as ours is, may be able to doo. Secondlie, he is in his Realme the declining sunne, and so weak in his declination, that euen in his presence he seeth them dispute, both by writings and

and weapons, of him that shall rise, after him. In the dayes
 of the Romaine *Cæsars*, it was treason to speake of that, that
 should happen after the Emperours death: much lesse durst
 they name him that they thought should succcede. *Tiberi-*
us were able to say somewhat hereof, who after a certaine
 sowne that he fell into, in his olde age lying sicke in his bed
 was stifled by his heire *Caligula*, a young & flourishing Prince,
 for feare least the old man coming againe to himselfe should
 put him to death, only for that he was saluted as Emperour,
 when all men tooke the other to be deceased. So great was
 their power to keepe their autoritie inuiolable euen to their
 graues. The *Ottomans* or *Turkish* Emperours will neuer suffer
 their children, whose possibilities they can not endure, to
 come neere them. But if we must needes finde a domesticall
 example among our owne kings: It is said, that the mightie
 king *Francis*, this mans grandfather, being weake & sicklie,
 was in the beginning of *May* in his last yeare, at his Cattle of
Fontainebleau, where his sicknes on a time so encreased, that
 he was thought to bee dead, or not like long to liue: So-
 dainely all the Court came running to the *Dolphin Henrie*,
 who for the like gelousie of succession durst not in fixe or
 seuen yeares come neere his father: euery one ranne to wor-
 ship this new sonne, so as almost no man of account tarried
 about the king. Well, the king for that time recovered, and
 vpon the Ascention day (a verie solemne festiuall daie in
France) beeing somewhat eased of his sicknesse, this olde
 Prince ariseth, decketh vp himselfe, cometh out of his cham-
 ber, painteth his haire & his face, to hide his age & sicknesse,
 appeareth himselfe in youthfull attire, and in this arraie co-
 meth forth to procession, wherein himselfe carrieth the Ca-
 nopie ouer their *Corpus Domini*, and at his returne vseth these
 speeches, *I Will scarre them once yet ere I die*. It prooued true,
 the case was altered: for so soone as the kings recouerie was
 bruted abroad, all the courtiers came dropping in by one,
 and by one in great feare, and the *Dolphin* yet once againe,
 while his turne came, remained as solitarie as his father had
 done. This it was to be a king: yea, this it was to be feared.
 How manie landes be there yet in the worlde, wherein it is
 death to enquire who may pretend anie title to the Crowne:

after the Princes decease, sith that is the thing that Princes doo couet to leaue most doubtfull. Alas ! It is not so with our king : his weakenesse hath giuen all the world leaue not onely in his presence to argue of his succession, but also to some to endeouour to force him to prouide for it and to make his will, as if there were no more for him to doo but euen to die. His faint heart and the libertie to offende, haue brought all to that passe, that at this day a Frenchman may as bouldlie as a Spaniard say, *I am not on the kings side*: whereas thirtie yeare agoe, such a word had beene blasphemie, yea euen parricide. Finally, his want of courage is so dishonorable, that my selfe being in a forraine lande in the presence of a mightie Prince confederate with the Crowne of France, where there was some speech of our estate, did heare one discoursing thereof, vse these words. *That our King stood but as an o in Cypre*, which of it selfe can doo nothing, but being added to anie other number, encreaseth the value thereof. I heard it, and with great grieve blushed thereat, euen for the shame of our Nation; albeit the diuisions of our Realme which force vs to extraordinarie remedies had carried me thither for an other purpose then the particular seruice thereof, neither was that speech any hinderance to the matter that I came about. Thirdly, he cannot assure himselfe of any of those whom he thinketh to be on his side: for they are daunted, because they see him quailed : They dare not fixe themselves about him, because they see him totter. They dare not earnestly oppose them selues against those that warre against him, because they see him suffer it, and yet scarce so bolde as to complaine. In this sort are all his Counsaile, all his townes, and all his subiectes growne into factions: And I do verelie beleue that among all those that are about his person, hee perceiueth none, except some one or two that are his owne creatures, that hee dare assuredlie trust: as hauing some other particular meaning then he, or taking part with some one or other of his enemies. For so soone as a king seemeth to feare any one within his Realme, or to mistrust that an other may bee greater than himselfe, his Maiestie is gone, he is no bodie, euery man hath recourse to the other. Albeit we can not be free, yet will we haue but one

one master: and if that master hath another master above him, wee straight leaue the first to runne to the last: such is the nature of man.

As for the king of *Nauarres* side, the beginning of these warres do proue it to be the iustest: he defendeth himselfe, to defend it both lawfull and naturall, yea hee so defendeth himselfe, as forgetting all occasions of complaint, he alwaies made conscience to molest the king (albeit in the midst of the wars) whom he see otherwise busied against those of the league, notwithstanding he knew certainly that all those iars among them woud light vpon himselfe. Neither hath hee so rested, but so oft as he might, hee hath offered him both his person and goods for the recouerie of his authoritie out of the others hands, with condition afterward to submit himselfe to whatsoeuer forme of peace that his maiestie woulde prescribe: he hath offered it, yea euen since the last commotions, notwithstanding in all this warre he hath had a thousand & a thousand occasions to proue that he is not to trust any but God and his sword, I haue also very great reasons to tearme this as yet the surest. First his person is a great helpe: for his enimies haue done him that fauour to teach him to bee a Captaine. And surely so hee is, yea such a one as may compare with the mightiest that euer was, and albeit it hath cost him somewhat, yet hath his apprenticeshippe cost them more: his partakers are more stedfast, they regard none but him, and are retained by the dutie of conscience, which hath vnited them together, either for religion, or because they find themselues entred into a iust cause: hauing had a better prooffe of his partakers, hee cannot feare any greater brunts then he hath already borne, neither can his enimies practise any nouelties against him: And if this thirde side had courageously assailed the other two, as they both haue done it, they had bin better shaken then this is. Moreouer he hath attained right of naturall succession to this realme, which no particular person doth any way challeng against him: so that albeit all *France* were agreed to take from him the crowne when it should fall, yet could ther be none that ought to haue it in his stead: for it is a great aduantage to haue no certaine aduersarie. These yndoubted hopes do purchase him manie seruants.

*See
Nava
R*

*Reason
Enig
Eio
1.*

2.

feruants, and retaine him manie more, where in the meane time many mens mindes, who are loath to see the alteration of the auncient forme of their common wealth: being assured that it cannot bee compassed without violence, are glad to rest vppon him, who comming in by the ordinarie gate needeth not to make any breach.

6 m^{re} factions This is at this day the order that is in the disorders of the Realme of *France*. These are the principall factions alreadie ordered and framed. Others there be that haue no set faction, but so farre as may stande with the commoditie of their affaires, leaning to one of the three, they come in a crosse, hauing seuerall purposes agreeing with the others, as concerning the beginnings, though to other endes. Of these there are the Q. Mother, the K. of *Spaine*, the dukes of *Lorraine* and *Sauoy*. These doo very well agree in setting forward the diuisions of the Realme, to the end to dispossesse the King of *Nauarre*, with the Princes of the blood, but not in the partition. No. Each one coueteth the whole or at the least the greatest part. Other Catholike Princes there bee of the house of *Bourbon* that remaine with the king & in deed take his parte, as being vnited in religion, which is the onely separation of the king of *Nauarre*, yet will neuer proceed so farre, as to consent to the aduancing of the house of *Lorraine* or *Guize*, before their owne: and in that case will rather support their elder, the king of *Nauarre*, as the head of their house. These beare great sway in *France*: For were the K. of *Nauarre* away, the succession of the Crowne should light vppon some one of them: which is also a great hinderance to the D. of *Guizes* purposes.

Besides all these confused and yet seuerall diuisions, whereto our mishaps do seeme (as I haue said) to haue already giuen some shape and rule, euerie of these partakers hath his particular intent and proceedings.

*Call m =
Comed =
Lorraine* The Duke of *Guize* with those which truely acknowledge none of the league in *France* but him, haue this intent and principall scope, to seise vpon the estate, either wholly or in part: a counsell which by inheritance his vnclē the late Cardinal of *Lorraine* hath engrafted in their familie. This Prince, the sole author of our broiles, had a father and an vnclē both

cunning

cunning fellowes. When our diuisions first beganne in the daies of the last king *Charles* betweene the Catholikes, and Protestants, and that they perceiued that the Prince of *Conde* then liuing embraced the other partie, themselves hauing bene the flurrers vp of the troubles, set themselves on the other: and indeede the late Duke of *Guise* was already become captaine of his faction, hatching in his imagination, through his brother the Cardinals practises, a secret intent to vnrise this crowne, either for himselfe or his posteritie, wheras in respect of the K. and his brothers minoritie, but especiallie by the ciuill warres hee see the way open. He deceased leauing this in maner a child vnder tuition of the Cardinall his brother: from whom, euen with his Milke he sucked the seedes of his domestlicall ambition, which this yoong Eagles birde did so well disgelt, that in short space all men might perceiue that the least part in him was greater then his fathers loines. To say the truth, there are manie good partes bred in him, fit for great purposes, and for my part I alwaies tooke this mans birth to be fatall, and as it were a certaine token that God purposed the alteration of somewhat in our countrie. He onelie is the whole league: the rest of his house are not equall with him: yea, they all together are not able to performe the least part of that which hee enterpriseth, Full of dissimulation, verie warie and discreete, and greater then all the rest of his faction. This dooth all the world perceiue by the effectes. I haue founde it in his writings, and vnder his owne hand in a matter of great importance: where had it not beene for him, one of the greatest of his partakers, next himselfe had like to haue committed a grosse ouersight. This is his intent and purpose. Now let vs see his proceedings, and how hee behaueth himselfe. His mischiefe was this, that entring into a world of affaires, there yet remained manie children in *France*, and those in a manner of his owne age, who all were capable of succession each after other, of marriage, and of children, which might haue beene enough to haue daunted him: howbeit all this notwithstanding, beginning to feele his owne courage he was nothing astonished: but for a time disguising his drifts, he was content onelie to lay anker hold, and in the meane time to insinuate himselfe

into the Catholike faction, according to the instructions of his familie, wherein fortune was his friend: besides, he is of great valour, & some of his enterprises haue good successe, so that together with the fame and memorie of his father, he by & by framed himselfe, through the ciuill warres which his vnclie the Cardinal still kindled, by one meanes or other, to bee chiefe of the Catholike faction, carrying fauour to those townes especiallie, which the massacres had continued verie seditious and troublesome: and he stood still in feare of a Protestant Prince, whose citizens hee entreated with great familiaritie, courtesie, and popular behauiors, (the chiefeest and most assured tokens of a mind that aspieth to tirannie). The late king *Charles* deceased without issue, and this king married, but hath no children: moreouer, he seemeth that the Crowne wanteth heires in dire& line, and that the Collaterals are called, whereupon he draweth neere, and already sheweth tokens that hee craueth a part. It was giuen out in huzger mugger that he is the very stocke of *Charles* the great, thote of *Valois* are of the house of *Capet*; who vsurped the Crowne of *France* from his house, whereby there was some likelihood that he would scarce tarrie the death of the king now raigning, and his brother, the remnants of the children of *France*, before he pleaded his succession against the Collaterals, but would euen prevent them.

Nowe was there nothing more against him then peace, for leaning onelie vpon the factious Catholikes, and seditious townes faction: he should therby lose his credit, except the controuerсие were renewed against the Protestants. For as it is a plaine case, that as ciuill warre nourisheth diuers factions in a state, even as certaine it is that a long peace o-
uerthroweth them all, except the kings: so as his onely remedie consisted in stirring vp of coales, and returning vs vnto our ciuill weapons, and then to enterprise according as occasion might serue. And in deede in the yeare 1578, hee made such a league as this last, but then was the king in his full authoritie, and *Monsieur* his brother aliue, who retained a number of french mindes, and so consequently kept him short of a manie: It was straightwaie quenched, and wee rid of it for a little warre against the *Huguenots*, which soone after

after was appeased. Thus was *France* quiet for two or three
 yeares: during the which, it was incredible how many mat-
 ters his troublesome, ambitious, & consequently, courageous
 stomach endured, suffering himselfe to be pulled downe, and
 eate and dronke in diuers maners, so to eschew all suspi-
 tion of this practise, which during the time of the peace, and the
 kings absolute authoritie, he so cunninglie dissembled, that
 many which knew not the last reasons of this obstinate pa-
 tience, the token of a long and prophane practise, did euen
 contemne him. In the ende *Monsieur* the kinges brother,
 who was a great blocke in his waie, died. He bare him some
 displeasure vpon other occasions: for as he practised some-
 what about the state of *Flanders*, so this man hauing priuate
 intelligence with the king of *Spain*, plaied him some badde
 partes thereabout: so that if he had liued (I haue heard some
 saie) that he would haue beene on the duke of *Guises* iacke:
 in whose time at the least, it had beene hard for him to haue
 enterprised anie thing in *France*. This death, whether it
 were by chance or through any practise, came well on his
 side: I saie through any practise, because the asaignments &
 depositions of the lord of *Sade* haue kept many in doubt
 of such a matter. Immediately vpon *Monsieurs* buriall, when
 there was none but the king left, hee thought that hee had
 gotten fit occasion to atchieue the practise which his father
 and vncle began thirtie yeares agoe, which him selfe also
 with so great labour had nowe brought to this passe. Some
 were of opinion that about the same time hee had practised
 somewhat against the kings life: others that hee grounded
 him selfe only vpon some vaine hope and protestations sent
 him out of all quarters, which assured him of the kings spee-
 die death: But howsoeuer it was, he did not thinke it con-
 uenient, the state should be quiet at the Princes decease, as
 knowing verie well that in *France* a king neuer dieth, because
 that so soone as one is gone, there is an other straightway in
 his place, who at his entrie would ouerthrow whatsoeuer
 the purposes that any man could commence against him:
 and therefore that it was requisite he should beare weapons
 against the heire euen before the kings death, and so be ar-
 med with the late kinges name and authoritie. According

therefore vnto these fatherly preceptes : and with his owne domestlicall meanes he began to trouble this Realme againe in the yeare 1585. beginning first with the king : whom because he could not by any persuations induce to make warre vpon the king of *Nauarre*, he thought to cōstraine by force. His pretences are, that the king hath no children, so as the Crowne is like to fall vnto Heretiques, whereby hee and all other the Catholikes of *France* are put in a fright, especially seeing the Protestant Captaines (so noting the king of *Nauarre*) are in fauour and haue their secrete intelligences with the chiefeest and those that are neereest about the kings person. This hee spake of the Duke of *Espernon*, who was lately returned out of *Guienne* where he had seene the king of *Nauarre*. Finally, verie filie vsing the feare that he had put the king in: corrupting all his Councell, and al that were about his person, hee causeth warre to be denounced to the king of *Nauarre* and the Protestantes, which lasteth yet to this day: through the whole course whereof I imagine that he seeketh no more but some occasion once to attempt, (as his fact at *Paris* well testifieth:) for as he weeneth, he needeth no more but that. Well, the warres being thus open against the king of *Nauarre* euen by the kinges aduise, consent, and authoritie, yet will it not suffice, These are daylie labours. This Prince is stout: of great valour, he hath goods plentie, and manie friendes. There is nowe nothing to be gotten of him but stripes. As for his person it is safe enough, if they neither murder, nor poison him, as God forbid they should. And for his townes, twelue Realmes of *France* will neuer be able to take them all. Yea, had he lost all but his sword, when soeuer God should call him to this Realme, yet were that enough. How many kinges haue there beene secht both out of prisons and Monasteries to their sacring. In our dayes wee haue seene *Charles* the seuenth, who was banished into the Mountaines of *Auuergne*, crowned. *Lewes* the twelfth was yet in manner prisoner in the great tower of *Bourges* when he was proclaimed king: neither is it credible by anie humaine apparance that the king of *Nauarre* should euer bee brought so lowe: and yet will not all this suffice. A lawfull right in succession is a marueilous point. These

confi-

considerations doo breake the Dukes ambitious braine. He
 seeth that he must not onely make the place for the Crowne
 voide, but also he must make himselfe capable both to en-
 ter and vsurpe. The one consisteth chiefly in the king of
Nauarres subuersion, the other in the encrease of his owne
 wealth and credit, which will grow on but slenderly, so long
 as he is content with gouerning the armies vnder the kings
 authoritie, and of himselfe to warre against the Protestants.
 A thousand other things there are that may fall out in such
 an enterprise, which would vtterly disgrace all his affaires:
 and as I haue saide, there is not much to bee wonne from
 those that knowe howe to defende themselves. Againe he
 mistrusted, that sith he had perforce brought the king into
 this warre, he would neuer furnish him of things necessarie
 for the performance thereof, but against his will, and yet
 that so long as himselfe had the leading of the armies (if he
 compassed not such effectes as might be woorthis the great
 hope and brags that he had giuen forth) he were quite o-
 uerthrowen. These things considered, he was content to send
 his brother into *Guyenne* against the king of *Nauarre*, while
 himselfe did here set vpon the kings person: at whose hande
 he first hoped by sinister meanes to gaine more, & with lesse
 losse. Hereupon at his brother the Duke of *Mannes* retorne
 out of *Guienne*, where he had done nothing but encreased the
 credit of the king of *Nauar* & his lieutenant general the lord
 of *Terraine*, with whom he had chieflie had to do, they both
 together with their kinsmen and partakers doe openly set at
 iarre with the king: albeit still vnder their generall pretence,
 viz. of warring against the heretikes: wherupon the holines
 of their weapons did depende, and whereby they still retay-
 ned the catholike faction on their side. Nowe at the first
 blush, to set vpon the king it is a shame: they can haue no
 colour. There is neuer a prince of the bloud among them,
 neither is any of them so great an officer of the crowne, as
 that it may beleeue him to reforme the king & the realme:
 and yet without this, their generall pretence against him is
 to no purpose. The king is no catholike, he is superstitious:
 he hateth not the *Huguonets*. If the *Huguonets* are poyson
 vnto him, he thinketh it a signe to talke with any of them,

the
 first
 part
 of
 the
 story

and that day that he hath so done he must goe to flint: hee hath brought more of them to their ends then the Duke of *Guize* hath leene: he hath done them more harme than the duke of *Guize* wiltheth them, & of him haue they more cause to complaine than of any of the league, the heads whereof haue alwayes shewed more fauor and courtesie to them particularly than he, a commendation which cannot be denied them. What is the remedy then? Immediately vpon the duke of *Mantes* returne out of *Guienne* he publisheth a libell against the Marshall of *Matignon* the kinges lieutenant in that prouince, whom the king had ioyned with him in office: wherein he accuseth him of treason and intelligence with the king of *Nauarre* & the protestants: & that (saith he) was the cause that in all that iorney he could performe no great matter: yea he accuseth him so couertly that he also taxeth the king, of who he complaineth, saying that he cut him short of coyne, victuals and munition, and so taketh from him all meanes to atchiue anie thing: yea he proceedeth so far, as to say that he is the best friend that the heretikes could haue. Hereupon the duke of *Guize* on the other side crieth out, that it is the D. of *Espernon*, who for malice toward him fanoreth his enemie the king of *Nauarre*, and therefore restraineth the king & maketh him to haue no care of this warre: thus for that he dares not bear the master he striketh the dog. That man, saith he, is the support of al the heretiks in *France*, & so he stirreth vp all the world against him: and presumptuously he protesteth that he will not suffer him to haue any part, towne or gouernement in *France*. Yea albeit the kings garde be free of all suspicion of heresie, yet because that lord had the rule of them, he causeth the twise or thrise to be assaulted & ouerthrowen in *Picardie*: and vpon this pretence doth he as well in that gouernement as else where seise vpon as many townes as he may. Well, the king would perperit him, and retaine his townes in obedience, & to that end doth vse such power as he hath about him, which are (as I said) his gards & those regiments wherof the duke of *Espernon* is coronell. Hereupon is the quarrell proclaimed against the king himself, & things brought to such passe that the duke of *Almale* besiegeth *Bulloin*, the duke of *Guize* taketh *Paris*, expelleth the king, slaieth, taketh

taketh and strippeth his guards, as himselfe boasteth. By his
 account euerie one that hath any townes or gouernements
 which he will not hold to his y^e, is an heretike: wholoener
 endeuoureth to keep him from the kingdome is an heretike;
 These be new articles of faith. It is said that the D. of *Esper-*
non hath since resigned his gouernements into the kings
 hands; namely that of *Normandy*, which was giuen to the D.
 of *Montpensier*, I know not whether it may make him an he-
 retike also: which were somewhat strange. Wel, to conclude
 this matter: the D. of *Guises* intent is to be king if he can, his
 proceedings and meanes are the ciuill wars and diuision of
 the french catholikes against the protestants, whereby he be-
 commeth capitaine of the first, with whome hee is in greater
 credite then the king himselfe, or any catholike Prince of the
 blood. Herein let them not mistake: for of these two things
 by his deuises hee hopeth for one: either to satisfy him-
 selfe during the kings life, and so to settle his affaires that af-
 ter his decease he may ouerthrow the king of *Nauar* & keep
 him from the estate; or else, if he cannot keepe him from it, at
 the least to force him to parley with him, who will still be pro-
 tector of the catholike faction, & that now without examples
 for it hee once ouerthrow him, and with him the rest of his
 house, this must needs ensue (for the one dependeth vpon the
 other) that either he will possesse the kingdome alone, or else
 he will deuide it with his partakers, still keeping the greatest
 and best part to himselfe. To this banquet doth he inuite the
 king of *Spain*, the Pope, the Potentates of *Italy*, and al catho-
 like princes near hand, to whom the mightines of the realme
 is as preiudicial, the kings prosperity and the king of *Nauar*'s
 hope is as greatly to be feared, as the ouerthrow of either of
 them is to them profitable. But the verie worst that I see in
 this practise is, that hee can in no sort beare with the kings
 long life, whereof he had need to take heed: & I beleue that
 if hee had stayed but a while longer in *Paris*, the matter had
 bene dispatched. But howsoeuer it is, I suppose that that is
 the thing which at this time dooth most trouble the one and
 scarce the other.

He that shall now call to mind that he that is now king of
France is the same person that wan the battails when he was

but seuentene or eightene yeares old, who neuer came in place but hee had the victorie, whose valor and reputation euen in the spring of his youth purchased him forraine Crownes, yea crownes ouer the most warlike nation that wee knowe in the worlde, cannot but hee must acknowledge that the onelie slacknesse and mistrust of his owne power, which through the impression of others haue seized vpon this sometimes so valiant a heart, is the whip wherewith God at this day scourgeth our realme. Of this Prince wee must needs say, that had hee beene borne in a good worlde: had hee had seruants worthie himselfe, which had loued his mightinesse: had they not euen in his nonage caused him to take the affaires in hand with paine, and pleasures with ease, which maketh him now to hate the one and loue the other: had no man since ceased his gouernement, and molested his minde, God had vndoubtedly indewed him with great good partes, whereby he might haue compassed great matters: but his mothers passions, who sought to aduance him, to the end he might stand her in stead, with her other sonne, thrust him forth to labour when he should haue giuen himselfe to pleasure: glutted him with honour before he had any stomacke to euill, and brought him out of tast with ambition before he had any minde of it. Besides al this, if a man may lawfully note any imperfection in him, this is it, that he hath beene somewhat giuen to lone his ease and rest, which is a common vice, not in Princes onely, but also in most men. In fine, coming to the crowne, he found the realme full of licentiousnesse, which the long ciuill wars had brought in: and replenished with factions and disobedience: he found all his greatest lords infected with seuerall purposes, in lieu of one generall minde that they ought to haue beene off for his seruice: and hereto was his owne patience a great furtherance, as hauing this imperfection, that hee found no resistance, if he were not crossed, or if he liued in peace, hee would deale absolutely & with great maiesty: but if he met with neuer so little difficulty, he alwaies preferred a soft and feareful remedie before boldnesse and seueritie, whereto also the mind of one of his chiefe counsaillers of estate, who hath likewise had most gouernement ouer him, hath beene a great helpe to inure

poland

eye of

siding
top of
cathedralX
of
the
romney
dinner
men

Eso me =

Inure him. Hee is the first king that euer the capitaines and
gouernors of his holds compounded withall, or demanded
money of to giue them vp: I meane not those onely, whom
the ielousie of the ciuil wars had made partial, but the others
also that haue alwaies také his part. He is the first king whom
men might boldly without feare offend. For, for my part that
which another would peradventure in a king terme clemen-
cie and mercie, and which particularly he would commend
in this man, because he neuer sought greatly to reuenge such
iniuries as many had committed against him, I would some-
times; especially when it doth exceed, call negligence: which
is preiudiciall to his maiestie, and which if it be not to be re-
proued, is not at the least greatly to be comended in a prince.
Albeit this is to be granted, that when these miserable wars
began againe, God had put sundrie good motions in his
minde, and hee was entred into a way fully to reforme his
realme, and relieue his people, so as those of the league had
neuer committed other trespasse in France then this breaking
of his good intents, yet haue they heaped a wonderfull bur-
then of curses vpon their owne heads. Wel, now to returne
to the present estate wherein he now standeth, and his pur-
poses: vndoubtedly he hath such as are most lawfull, for they
tend onely to the preseruatiou of his life, & maintenance of
that authoritie which God hath giuen him, howbeit in the
conduct of them he hath a very bad cause, cruell to his people,
noisome to his realme and dangerous to himselfe, as the ef-
fect doth sufficiently shew. This mightie prince doth as well
know whereat the D. of Guise shooteth as another: and hee
hath reason, sith it is at himselfe that he chiefly aimeth, al-
beit being miscountailed he hath hitherto taken but a croo-
ked way to withstand it. Indeed he is in some sort to be excu-
sed, as hauing no one about him, whose counsaile is not pre-
uented either by desire or feare, and hauing on his side al-
most none but himselfe. When the D. of Guise had thus ar-
med himselfe vnder the name of the holy league (a name but
too well knowne alreedy in France) they straightway propoun-
ded vnto him a most false principle, viz. that in his realme
there were but two factions, The Hugonots & the Catholikes:
that vnlesse hee would take vpon him the gouernement of

the one he should haue none to take his part, & so according to the prouerbe, betweene two stooles the taile goeth to the ground: That the *Hugonets* were the weakest and therefore that consequently it were best for him to ioine with the catholiks, for in so doing he should win to himself all the credit which the house of *Guize* had alreadie gotten, which would be their destruction and his preservation: that for the atchiuing hereof he must shew himselfe most pationate & cruell to the heretikes, & make war vpon them in earnest, yea & exceed al men in wishing their harme: and that by that onely meanes reclaiming al the catholike faction to himselfe, & taking vpon him to be head thereof, he might with ease both ouerthrow the house of *Guize* which he both feared & hated, & by war rid himself of the *Hugonets* and their captaines, to whom he wished no great good. This was their counsaile, which is to the great preiudice both of his realme and himselfe, he hath hitherto beleueed: God grant he may now consider of it, & perceiue that the effects therof in lieu of making him, as hee was perswaded, capitaine of the catholike faction, haue now brought him to be the onely minister of the D. of *Guize* passions: in such sort that so soon as the other did but stir against him, he beleueed, that to diminish his credite & meanes, he must needs shew himselfe very busie against *Hugonets* & ther-vpon with notable commissions, terrible edicts, & mighty armies shew himselfe rigorous to those that feare & honor him, and which offer him no iniury, & fauorable to those that deuour him at his owne gate. Thus so soone as he had receiued some cracke by those of the league, as soone as they began some mutinie against him, or that they seized vpon any town of his, so soone I say, might the king of *Nauar* be sure that he would be vpon his iacke, and with all send an armie against him. Oh blinde Prince, that thought that those men which willingly would haue seene him dead, grounded themselves but vpon one pretence, and in case that should faile him, hee would wrest from them by imagination that which by force he durst not proue! Cursed be you that giue him counsaile. Are yee not ashamed yee traiterous counsailers? must a king suffer factions in his estate? must he needs haue any other than his owne? Is it not a goodly part to be a king? If you say that these

these two factions were there already, and past remedy: O ye wretches, who brought them in but your selues, that still do norish them? Is not ciuill warre the mother of these factions: cease that, and you shall see them flie. Let a king keepe himselfe in his strength, and kinglike say, *I will haue peace*, and you shall see that the boldest of these partakers durst not gaine-say it: if he must needs make warre, let it be against him that would hinder the peace, and hee will soone overcome him.

Neuerthelesse, according to this principle, they made him to belecue that there was no safetie for him vnlesse himselfe would vndertake the same pretence, as the fauourer of the league: also that it were requisite that he should in apparance shew himselfe more earnest against the protestants the they: That the catholikes were already vnited with the D. of Guise against the others: That the onely meanes to disunite them, was to take the D. of Guises place, and thunder against the Huguenots. This was his beliete & his counsaile. In the meane time together with this perswasion, feare seised vpon him: yea such a feare as was chiefly grounded vpo a iust mistrust of those whom he had euen about him: so as so soone as he sawe the league armed, the gates of Paris were scarce sure enough for him, himselfe visited them, and wheras he might with his onely countenance haue sent all the authors of this mutinie an hundred foot vnder ground, so soone as he heard of it he was amased: he by & by sent his mother to the to desire them to be content: to excuse him, for that in the time of peace he made not so great account of them as he ought: to promise that hereafter he would content them, yea that they should but aske & al should be granted them. To be short, he did in a maner humble himself before his subiects, to the end to keepe them from mutining against him; wheras it had bin his part to haue taught the, that he both would & could punish their rebellion. Al this notwithstanding he had no great mind to the war, as wisely considering that it was a diminishing of his authoritie, and if he feared it against the league, hee was not desirous of it against the protestantes: but at length being overcome by his mother, who had other drifts in her braine then hee, and almost by all that were about him, he grew to a small accorde with the Duke of Guise, and

to be
warre
all for
peace

X

X perforce consented to the war against the K. of *Nauar*, vnto whom not one moneth before he had by thirty letters of his owne hande testified his owne iudgement of the intents of those of the league. This hath beene the counsaile that the king hath hitherto had. Now there is no doubt but he could haue wished the king of *Nauarre* to haue bene strong inough to haue forced both the others & himselfe to grow to peace: but of his owne motion to propound it he neuer durst: for had hee done it, he looked straight to haue beene stifled by the mutinous faction of the league. Well, hee mindeth to liue, to reigne and to be obeyed as well of the protestants as of those of the league, A desire both iust and reasonable, and so he might, if he wold: but with these pernicious principles, sith himselfe calleth his power into question, and dare not doo the part of a king, let him not thinke it strange that others should enterprise to counterfeite his person. God grant that at length he may earnestly desire to be that he is, that is, the master and greatest lord of his realme: but this can not be, vnlesse he be king, and that shall he neuer be, except hee resolute himselfe to wish the wealth and peace of his people.

As touching the king of *Nauarre*, his condition and intent, it is cleane contrarie or differing from both the others, of which I haue already spoken. Euen as he agreeth with the kings purpose in the behalfe of preserving of his life and authoritie, where against he neither could, neither would attempt any thing: so likewise hee differeth from him in that that concerneth the libertie of the churches of *France*, for the which the war is made against himselfe, whiles hee goeth about to release them from it. But he is euery way contrary & opposite vnto the enterprises of the duke of *Guise* and the league. First, whereas the other, to whom ambition giueth the same hope for the crowne of *France*, which right and nature hath giuen vnto this, cannot put it in practise but by warre, by the subuersion of lawes, and alteration of the state of the realme: for if he should make no inuasion, or if euerie thing kept their ordinary course, he hath no right to it, no he could not be called to it. This on the other side cannot looke for it but by the meanes of peace, by keeping euery thing in order, his desire is ordinarie, and in maintaining the lawes, his

his title is lawfull. And if he would take any other way by violence or vsurping, he should find his riual as much stronger and surely settled in this behalfe, ouer that he is, as he hath an aduantage in the true succession. In the meane while besides the right of the realm which looketh on him, he carrieth moreouer vpon his shoulders the burden of all the churches of *France*, he beareth all their hope vpon his head: his ouerthrow to mans likelihood is their ruine and oppression: his greatnesse their libertie. And that is it which encreaseth the power of his enemies, and which lincketh together against him all the catholikes of *Europe*. Of truth, whiles I thinke nowe vpon this one, as I did lately vpon the other, me thinketh that God vnder these two mightie men, will exercise our state: the one hauing yet more strength of bodie and minde to preferue it, than the other hath to destroy it. But the other hauing as yet more meanes, by the reason of the opportunity which he had, to foine with the greater side, and to haue had the means to vse euen the kings authority: this will cause me to make some small digression to compare them together: for such are they, as they well deserue to be inserted into *Plutarkes paralels*. I force my selfe as much as may be, to iudge of them without affectio, although I should in respect of my religion, my side, and infinite other occasions fauour the one more than the other: yet I wot not whether this affection doth not robbe me of the libertie of my iudgement. But me thinketh that this man, how worthy soeuer the other is, hath many good parts in him whereby he goeth beyond him. I speake not of their practises, I call them not in question. I do not so much as giue my iudgement of those of the duke of *Guise*, but condemne them: For I am a *Frenchman*: I speake onely of such qualities as God hath indued them withall, proper in the one to haue them such, and in the other to oppose himselfe against them: I will say then that this man hath all his life through, yea from the beginning of his youth fought against necessitie it selfe, all his businesse hath beene full of it, he neuer did any thing but with paine, the other contrariwise hath had all to his mind, had alwaies all opportunitie for the first. Item of his enterprises, wanted alwaies rather workmanship than worke, rather

ther forme then matter, rather will then meanes. Nothing did asist this, neither did any thing resist the other. This maketh mee to conclude first, that seeing by these sundrie waies they haue found themselues one as great as the other: the one must needs haue learned more, haue more experience more courage, more force: the other more ambition, more hope, a thing bred in him by the greatnesse of his meanes, & by consequent of more enterprise, and more audacitie. That the one hath lesse shew, lesse vanitie, lesse pompe, & lesse brauerie in his affaires: the other lesse experience, lesse assurace, and lesse stabilitie. Which maketh me to thinke that when-
 e soeuer this man shall find himselfe in great abundance, hee
 shall be better able to vse it, then the other could defend him-
 selfe against necessitie, if euer he were brought to it. I will
 make no mention of the former wars, wherein notwithstanding
 the duke of *Guize* had fortunes giftes alwaies at will: and
 this man contrariwise hath often tried what misery may, yea
 euen the extremest: (I speake of that whereof I wil now say:)
 that if I had seene this great enterpriser assailed two whole
 yeares, by eight French armies, which were sent to the rescue-
 ing one of an other, & led on a row by the best Captains of
France, amongst the which I account his brother the duke of
Maine: and that at his departure from thence, not onely he
 had lost nothing, but besides that he had take seuen or eight
 good townes, & wonne a great battaile, hauing in his hands
 no other meanes in the world to build his deedes vpon, but
 his courage alone, as I haue seene happen to the king of *Na-
 uarre*, I would then thinke that I might copare them together:
 but vntill then, there is no reason so to do. Some will say to
 me that the D. of *Guize* hath had many more enterprises and
 greater ones, & all that the king of *Navarre* could do, it was
 to resist, I grant it. It was an easie matter for the one to en-
 terprise, euerie one fauouring him: difficult to the other to
 resist, euerie one being against him. As the labour, so the glo-
 rie ought to be greater. They haue notwithstanding manie
 humours both like and different, but no small thinges, no
 slender ones. Both are of great courage, they had neede of
 it: both are gentle, courteous, friendly: both are actiue of
 bodie, vsed to toyle, and acceptable. But their mindes are
 much

much diuerſe. The one is moſt honeſt, franke, openhearted,
free minded, ſometimes ſomewhat haſtie, well reſolued not-
withſtanding vpon preſent occaſion, and dangers: ſo earneſt
about that which is laide before him, and ſo beſtirring him-
ſelfe about the yon that ought to be beaten whiles it is
hote, that he hath the leſſe regard to that which is paſſed, as
alſo to that which he muſt follow: he will conceiue few farre
ferched practiſes, beeing content with his hope, and refer-
ring all thereto. The other is diuerſe and as bad as may be,
ſecret, cloſe, craftie, patient, euen ſo farre as to be blamed
for it, as I haue ſaide, diſſembling, laying downe his plat-
formes a farre off. For hee muſt forge his owne hope, loo-
king a looſe off, raking nothing in hande but what hee is
ſore to bring to paſſe: but I wotte not, if he were vpon the
verie point of daunger, whether he would vſually growe to
ſo readie a reſolution, ſith hee hath not had ſo often triall
thereof. Howſoener the matter goeth they are both woorth-
ie men, and of the woorthieſt that euer France did beare,
ſuch as coulde haue performed notable actions, if a mightie
king would haue vſed them, and his time haue ſuffered it. To
come againe to the matter. As for the king of Nauar, he nei-
ther hath, neither ought to haue any practiſe about the ſtate,
his poſſibilitie doth ſufficiently furniſh him, and beſides, he
hath enough to do to breake thoſe of his enimies: his warre
tendeth onely to peace, and the quietneſſe of the realme: but
ſuch a peace as to the which he will neuer agree, except the
churches of France, & ſo conſequently the ſtrangers if he can,
may be at liberty. He nedeth not plead his right to the crown
it is no time: moreouer, that which is ſure, ought not to be
called into doubt or queſtio: much les need he buſie himſelfe
about the ouerthrow of thoſe of Guize & Lorraine. He wiſheth
not their harm, except as they with the realmes, to the which
if they would be profitable, hee acknowledgeth them moſt
ſufficient, as concerning their particular perſons. Their de-
gree is not equall with his, who vſeth the name of a king.
That name keepeth him from thinking vpon theirs. His only
drift & purpoſe (if he hath any) tendeth to defend himſelf, &
after ſuch a ſort, that he may conſtrain his enimies to render
vnto France hir peace, to the king his authority, to him & his
theirs.

their libertie. After that, let them of *Gnize* enrich and ad-
 uance themselues as much as they can, so it be not to the cost
 of one of these three, it skils him not. The proceeding and
 the way that he taketh about it, is not certaine, it dependeth
 vpon the same which the others do hold against him. If they
 let him alone, he stirreth not: if they come to weapons, hee
 runnes to them: if they laie them downe, he doth the like:
 that is the reason why the king knoweth in his heart, that
 when the rest of *France* shalbe agreed, that there will be little
 or no difficultie at all with this man, who being ledde onely
 by reason, may be at all times easily brought to it againe.

I haue spoken of the three principall heads which vphold
 the three factions that are in *France*: wee are now to marke
 such as come in by bi-waies, what drift and scope they haue,
 whereat they aime, and what hope they haue to hit on it. A-
 mongst these, the first is the Queene mother vnto the king,
 who for her credits sake, and in shew, keepeth her selfe on her
 sonnes side, as she did alwaies, when shee had many sonnes,
 hold with him that was king: but who notwithstanding hat-
 teth nothing more than his absolute power, as beeing the
 worse for it. When *France* was in peace, she was faine to spin
 her rock at home, her son left her no charge, nor deling in a-
 ny matter. That she might recouer her authoritie, she was fain
 to shuffell the cardes, or haue intelligence with those that
 shuffeled them, otherwise she was of no vse: which her mind,
 that could not thinke on small matters, could neuer brooke.
 And of this Princesse whose race hath ruled, & ruleth at this
 day ouer the best parts of *Europe*, it may be saide as it was of
 Agrippa, *Vitribus curis muliebria vitia exuisse*. If that alreadie
 were not a vice in a woman: it hath beene alwaies her cus-
 tome, in *France* to stirre vp one against another, that in the
 meane while she might rule in these diuisions. The mightie
 against the mightie, Princes against Princes, yea her owne
 children against her children. For she know wel enough that
 our state standeth so, as that a woman, except it be by some
 extraordinarie waies, is of no credite therein.

In the time of the late king *Charles*, this that nowe is, was
 then her protector, whose power she did increase as much as
 she could, to the end she might vse him to make her selfe ne-
 cessarie

cessarie vnto the other. The king at length perceined it, but too late. Since that, this beeing come vnto the Crowne, wherein to speake the truth, hee was infinitely bound vnto her, whiles he was in Polande, being as well assured that except shee had wisely provided for it, there had beene such stirrings in France as perchance at his comming home hee had beene kept from getting in. Shee kept her credite for three or foure yeares, whilest this yoong king dreamed of nothing but the pleasures of his age, and the delicioulnesse of his newe estate: but since, beginning to take vppon him the affirmatiue voice, and to seeke to rule alone, she was forced to haue recourse vnto Mounseieur her yoonger sonne, who for a while vphelde her, and made her to be esteemed necessarie. He being deade, shee chose other remedies: for howsoeuer it bee, shee hath euer wished two things. The one, to make him that was in possibilitie of the Crowne to bee beholding vnto her, for to keepe him in when hee were come to it: The other, to make him in the meane while so great, that he that were master of the State, should bee forced to vse her helpe in brideling the other, employing after this manner verie quietly both their powers one against the other, that betwixt them shee might rule and be sought to: such a counsell as particularlie for her selfe was as full of wisdom as often full of troubles and inconueniences for the commons. Nowe, if after Mounseieurs death, shee had founde the king of *Nauarre* fitte for these practises, she had made her buckler of him: but seeing that his religion, and many other considerations did hinder her, she hath cast both her eyes and her heart on the house of *Lorraine*, and her daughters children, whereunto the hatred that shee did beare vnto this Prince, euen from his infancie hath beene a great helpe: So that esteeming her selfe not able to bee reconciled with him, shee consequently dooth feare him, and is fully resolu'd to hinder him in all that shee can, from getting anie part in *France*. Shee can neuer doo it without the ouerthrowe of the order of the Realme. For (as I saide) after this hatred commeth in the loue shee beareth vnto the children of the D. of *Lorraine*, who are her daughters children, towards whome she hath a secret inclination,

D

neuer

Mounseieur
doehow he
wife
make

2.

neuer ceasing day nor night to reproch vnto the king, that he ought rather to loue as his heires, his Nephewes, his Sisters children, then a stranger vnto his house: so dooth shee terme the king of *Nauarre*. The daughters of *Spaine* are also her daughters children, vpon whome she would likewise be glad to bestowe some part of the same: not being griued in the meane while that her sons state is in trouble, to the ende that he should haue refuge vnto her, and that she may be imployed. Now in this manner she agreeth well with the Duke of *Guize*, to crosse her sonne, to stirre vp, and open the way to confusion, and about the meanes to alter the order of succession in our realme: but to wish that hee should waxe so great that he might ouerthrow the king himselfe, & dispossesse him, and himselfe afterward to inuade the whole state, it is not likely, I cannot beleue that she desireth it. Now vnder this the Queene mothers intent, I comprehend also that of the Marquise *du Port*, her little sonne, sonne vnto the Duke of *Lorraine*, who likewise hath no intelligence or hope in this our state, any further then she his grandmother doth procure him to conceiue.

Next, there is the king of *Spaine*, who from the beginning of these wars, seeing the Queene of England to knit a strait alliance with our king, seeing in the same time also the Commissioners of the low countries at *Paris* to offer him the soveraigntie ouer their prouinces, it came in his head to cast three or foure thousand crownes into the hungrie hands of the league, so to set *France* in troubles, as being assured that by these meanes he should keepe the king from thinking vpon *Flanders*, the which he did most feare: as indeed, there is but the onely king of *France*, so he be in peace, that can easily take these Prouinces from the Spaniarde. This is that which brought him in, and consequently, that somewhat ouerhastned the Duke of *Guizes* deuises. Besides that, hee feareth now extremely, least the king of *Nauarre* should attaine to the crowne of *France*: hee is his enimie by nature: he detaineth a kingdome from him, which no doubt if the others staues may growe on, will bee wholly pulled away, and more perchance withall. Hee knoweth well enough, that he being olde, his children yong, his state deuided and
scarce

scarfe settled, small matters after his death will trouble it: much more a king of *Nauarre*, if he were king of *France*. Therefore he is glad to frame himselfe vnto those of *Lorraine*, to finde them meanes to stirre vp coales, that in the meane while he may more freely goe about his warres of the lowe countries, and of *Englande*: to molest the king of *France*, thereby to ouerthrowe the king of *Nauarre*: to the end that afterward the realm being left for a pray, he being the mightiest, might catch the greater part. This is his drift as concerning our state: but that he would proceede so farre as being burdened with many other particular expences, he wold yet draw his treasors drie, to make the Duke of *Guise* king: he I say, who is perswaded that if it were so that the maner of succession must needs be altered, his daughters the kinges Nieces, ought to haue the better part: That which I say of the K. of *Spain* may likewise be applied to the duke of *Sauoy* his son in law, who is of much lesse power, and hath no other deuises then his father in lawes. These are all that either doo good or euill vnto *France*. These are her good or bad humours: These are the prosperous or contrary windes which torment & trouble it. And of their discordes and passions as diuerse as themselves, as differing and contrarie as they are, dependeth her good or euill happe. Oh mightie Empire! the glorie of *Europe*: to the which the course of 1200. yeares could bring nothing but encrease, thy enemies nothing but glorie, there was some reason that after so manie victories, thou shouldest ende by thy owne handes, thou shouldest stoupe vnder thine owne force, seeing destinie had not created in the world any conquerour ouer thee.

But leauing of this maner of speech, which rather prouoketh me to weepe than to write: seeing that the diuision of religion doth serue for a pretence in the alteration of our Realme, and so consequently in his destruction, if God suffer it so, this euill being almost comon to all the states of *Europe*. I will slippe a little aside to speake somewhat of the generall affaires of Christendome, in that which concerneth these two great factions, the one resting yet vnder the obedience of the Pope, the other hauing cast it off. I will not entreat hereof as a Diuine. I knowe verie well that God commonly try-

^{afflictions}
 eth his by ^{afflictions}, as the meanes to keepe men in their
 dueties, and immediatly to haue recourse vnto him whom
 they thinke but little vppon whiles their necke is swollen
 vp with prosperitie. Neither am I ignorant that the sonne
 of God pronounceth these wordes: *My kingdome is not
 of this worlde*: thereby teaching to the true Christians,
 that it is not here that they ought to seeke their ease, and
 although they finde themselues afflicted, yet must they not
 mistrust of their cause, as if God did detest them, and were
 purposed to roote them out from the face of the earth, al-
 beit contrariwise, they see the Turkes, the Heathen, the
 poore blinded ones in Popish superstitions, haue all at will:
 and conquer Realmes, furnish Prouinces, and ~~them~~ ^{their} of
 veines of golde which neuer drie vp, and their armies pro-
 sper euerie where. That their good happe procureth them
 such men as to doo them seruice will attempt vppon those
 Princes liues that are their enimies, euen in the middelt of
 their Gardes. Finally, they scarce haue yet wished, when God
 suffereth them to see their desire fulfilled, Where cleane con-
 trariwise hee hath laide this necessitie vppon his true ser-
 uantes, that they shall take his crosse vpon their shoulders
 if they will followe him, passe through the straight gate, and
 after his example passe away their whole life in grieffe, affli-
 ction, & in necessitie. According to these rules and tokens,
 which cannot be applied to any other, then those that make
 professedion of the true reformed religion, it might suffice me
 to conclude, that they whom God afflicteth after this sort,
 are his true children, whom hee will afflict, but not vtterlie
 cast away: whom he will chastice, but not punish: whom he
 vseth as his children that offended him, in doing otherwise
 than he commanded them, and not as seruantes that haue
 robbed him. And after such a maner, that although at this
 day throughout all Christendome the greatest potentates
 of the worlde bee confederated, vnited, and ioyned togi-
 ther against them, it is all in vaine. God will neuer suffer
 that which is his to bee cast away: they are his, hee well
 may dippe them two or three fingers in the water: but
 presently hee will stretch forth his arme of deliuerance to
 pull them out of the gulph: and that could I (besides the in-
 dubita-

prosperie
 E.

afflictions
 & children

dubitable trueth of that promise which he made vnto his prooue by the course of things that are passed in the church since the foundation of the world. But as I haue said, my purpose is not to reason like a diuine. It sufficeth me to prooue that we haue not only that great supernatural pillar of Gods power for our defence, as an impenetrable shield, against the which, all the dartes of the worlde turne their points backwards; but also euen in the worlde it selfe, and among all humane meanes he hath giuen vs without comparison more then our enemies: so that if we suffer that they afflicte vs, it is but our fault, because we cannot helpe our selues with that power that he hath giuen vs. All Christendome which is vnder the Popes obedience, is at this day ioyned together to roote out those of the religion. Who are those wicked ones? let vs iudge of their power, and see whether it be so great as that we need to feare it. It is the Pope, it is the Emperour it is the king of *Spaine*, there be certaine Potentates of *Italie*: In *France* are the duke of *Guize* and his kinsmen, who make the king and the realme to serue their turnes as they list. In *Switzerland* there are certaine Cantons: In *Germanie*, diuers princes. I haue named all, and them by the most glorious names that I could deuise: there are Popes, Emperors, Kings, and numbers of Princes. It is saide that all these terrors of the worlde are gathered together to this purpose onely, to make an end of those which professe the true religion, God grant it, so be it. The more enemies, the greater glorie. But let vs search them a little nearer, wee shall finde that all these men haue some particular intent which they keepe to themselves, and that to maintaine their vnitie they all agree onely in the generall. What intentes? let vs specially consider of them. The Popes is manifest: *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and *Caluin*, haue abridged him of two partes of his reuenues: the thirde is in great danger, they labour about it. He would both recouer that which he hath lost, if it were possible, and assure against hereafter, that which he holdeth. The whole realme of England is slipped out of his handes: if the king of *Spaine* could plant there againe the catholike religion, it were so much recovered for him. *France* hath neuer shewed him anie great obedience, the church of *France* had alwaies her priuiled-

ges by her selfe: yet it is nothing, thinketh hee, In respect
of that it shoulde bee, if euer the king of *Nauarre* should
come to bee king of it. He feareth least he should come o-
uer the Alpes: he is of the race of *Bourbon*, tarall vnto *Rome*:
besides that hee is alreadie egged on against the Popes, for
his kingdome of *Nauarre*, which most vniustly they haue
passed ouer vnto the Kings of *Castile*. Moreouer, he fea-
reth least that a mightie Prince like vnto this, doo one day
bring a great reformation in religion, which can not bee
doone without diminishing the authoritie of the sea: which
notwithstanding will bee as easie for him to doo, as it was
for *Philippe* the faire, and manie other kings of *France*,
enemies to the Popes vsurpations. Thus his chiefeft in-
terest is to cut this Prince short of his hope. For his part
hee dooth what hee can, hee thundreth, hee stormeth, he
curseth, hee declareth him an heretike, a rebell: finally,
not capable of the Crowne of *France*, as though it lay in
him to take it away, or to giue it. For the execution of this
Bull, which in deede of it selfe could doo but little against
the bulwarkes of *Rochell*, (if that were all) he armeth all
Christendome, yea euen the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, to
whome hee sendeth a hallowed sworde, of the race of *Saint*
Paule: hee promiseth money vnto the *Guizians*: hee pro-
miseth, but hee sendeth not, as hauing not yet paid that
which his Popedome did cost him, according to the Ro-
mish stile.

To conclude, as it belongeth to him, hee worketh myra-
cles with his Crosier staffe, and his purpose and drift is, to
animate all the worlde against the heretikes, among whom
hee comprehendeth the Queene of Englande, and the
king of *Nauarre* his principall enemy to his thinking,
whose ouerthrowe hee looketh for, by the meanes of this
vniuersall league. As much or more occasion hath hee to
complaine of the high and lowe Germanie, as of *France*,
and Englande: but hee thinketh that after that the king of
Spaine and those of *Guize* shall haue chastised, that is to saie,
vsurped *France*, and Englande, in driuing out the heretikes,
that is to say, the true princes and lawfull lordes: after that
they shall haue tamed the lowe countries, they may without
any

any gaineſaying ioyne their forces with the Emperors, ſo to contraine either by friendſhip or force the Princes of *Germanie* which are Proteſtants, to come againe vnder the yoke of his obedience: that after that, being no great likelihood that the *Suiſers* would obſtinate themſelues againſt ſuch great forces, ſeeing their Cantons are already denided, they altogether might eaſily aſſiſt the Duke of *Sauoy*, to recouer *Geneua*, and to ſacke that towne which they call the ſpring and fountaine of all heretikes of Chriſtendome. It is there that hee concludeth the ende of his deſire, and of his holie leagues enterpriſe. Which I haue ſeene written by Pope *Sixtus* himſelfe, in a letter intercepted about the beginning of theſe troubles in *France*, ſent from *France* into *Spaine*. And as for him, this is his pretence, that is his intent grounded vpon that generall hatred which hee beareth to the heretikes, but eſpecially vnto the king of *Nauarre*, and the Queene of England, of whom he hath receiued harme enough already, or is afraid to receiue more.

The king of *Spaine* hath three particular purpoſes, for the which he wiſheth this generall league. The firſt to compaſſe the warres of the lowe countries which are helde by thoſe whome hee calleth heretikes, and againſt the Queene of Englande, who is likewiſe of their number. The ſeconde his hereditarie deſire to ioyne *France* vnto his dominions: which hee thinketh he may now the more eaſily doo, in reſpect of the right that belongeth vnto him through his wife, a daughter of *France*, and his daughters gotten betwixt them: for as for him, hee thinketh not that the Salike lawe, the honour of our kings, was made for him. The laſt, the ouerthrowe of the king of *Nauarre*, whome hee purpoſeth, whatſbeuer it coſteth him, to remooue as much as hee can poſſible from the crowne, for manie reaſons that hee hath to feare this great enimie, whome God keepeth for to be one day the deſtruction of his houſe. For the benefite of theſe three purpoſes, hee is come in, and hath much ſolicited this generall league, which ſtrengtheneth to him his title of war againſt England: of enmity againſt the king of *Nauarre*: miniſtreth to him opportunity to enterpriſe vnder hand againſt the ſtate of *France* while he fauoureth the affaires of the

Geneua

C. de J. 100
of theC. de J. 100
of theC. de J. 100
of the

the Duke of *Guize* his partner, with whom, except it were for this, he could haue no intelligence that might yeeld him any profite: by his meanes in *France* he doth hope to ouerthrow the king of *Nauarre*, also he hopeth to vse the hauens of *Picardie*, and *Normandie* against England, & the low countries: being sure enough afterward, that the king of *France* being dead, his lawfull successor dispossessed, and the realme left as a pray, he shalbe able easily to deuide their part vnto those of *Lorraine*, being stronger then they: and thus may we see that he turneth the general pretence of this goodly league to his particular benefit and purpose, euen as though it had beene onely made for his domesticall affaires.

Duys to
Prin. The Emperour would galdly, that all the other Princes of Christendome which are of the religion, were ouerthrowne, to the end the whole bodie of the league might come to set him free from the protestants which are his neighbours: but because it is yet a long peece of worke, and that it were not good for him to bestirre himselte much, least he should waken those mightie princes which are stronger then himselte: he rusheth not far in amongst them, no more then the other princes of *Germanie*.

subsc.
of
Pr. I haue discoursed enough of the duke of *Guizes* intent and purpose, which is to make himselte alone king of *France*, if it be possible, or at least of the better part: such a purpose as willingly admitteth no fellow, & for the which a man wil not lightly labour for another. This I doo heere note onely to shewe that to helpe himselte in *France* by the meanes of *Spaine*, to the furtherance of his enterprise, & in recompence thereof himselte to helpe the Spaniard to recouer his lowe countries: to see the Queene of England, to whom he wiltheth euen death it selfe, whom likewise he knoweth to be the onely support of his enimie, quite ouerthrowne, he wil haue notable intelligence with the king of *Spaine*: but to yeelde him wholly the crowne of *France*, and to holde it of him by homage, if he be able to vsurpe it, or to giue him ouer the better part, I beleue he will not. In the meane while these pretences being grounded vpon nothing else then the diuision of religion, wee must confesse him to bee one of the chiefest pillars of this holy league. •

The princes of *Italie* haue no other purpose at all then their owne preleruation, being enclosed on one side by the Pope, on the other by the *Venetians*, on the thirde by the king of *Spainne*: besides deuided, and their States so small, that they haue smal leasure to think of any other matter the to main- taine themselves: and for this reason only are they come in- to the league. But they are not so good catholikes, but that they feare more the encrease of the house of *Spainne*, then the decay of their religion, Such as haue beene in their coun- tries do know this

The Duke of *Sauoy* is also comprehended in this generall vnion: so long as his father in law shall liue, he will haue the same enterprises that he hath; if he dieth, he wil haue others, as I shall shewe anone, which altogither doo synpathise with those of the league. The duke of *Lorraine* likewise, when euery bodie shall come to reape the fruit of his labour, and the in- terest of his charges, his conclusion wil not agree with the D. of *Guizes* proposition. The Cantons of *Zuizerland* are not in my opinion entred into the league, because of the alliance which they haue with our king, and the bonde that knitteth them together in their countrie. Notwithstanding I doubt not, but that for mony they will finde forces, not generallie vnto the league, but particularly to the Duke of *Guize*, yet haue they after made some difficultie thereof.

Of purpose haue I shewed the intent of each partaker of the league, to prooue that which I haue said, that euerie one of them had some particular meaning disagreeing one from another: to the end that thereby I might shewe, that what- soeuer good intelligence they had one with another, it were verie easie for vs to haue a better. All with one course will I seeke out, what are their meanes and their forces: in the which I hope to finde so many wantes in respect of that which is in our handes, that we would bee ashamed to suffer ourselues to bee beaten. I will beginne with the weakest. Of which number I take the Emperour and the Catholike princes of *Germanie* to bee. For although vndoubtedly they bee of great power, yet the Protestantes their neighbours are of such force, as euerie man dooth knowe: to witte, the king of *Denmarke*, the Electours *Palatin*, of *Saxonie*, and

Brandenburgh, the Landgraue of *Hessia*, and manie other great princes and lordes; so that if they woulde, the other durst not seeme to haue enterprised any thing at all. I haue shewed what the forces of the Cantons of *Zuizerland* are, and howe the generall league may haue yle of them. As for the princes of *Italie*, the Duke of *Sauoy*, as our nearest neighbour, is the most to be feared of them all. But first, it is but a small matter of forces that may come from him: next, hee rather resteth vpon sure possibilities, then vpon vncertaine ones. His father in lawe is olde, at his death hee hopeth to get somewhat, and I doo thinke that hee will rather cast his cies vpon the states of *Millaine* and *Naples*, if the succession of *Spaine* come to bee deuided, as there is great likelihood: for the daughters who are as ambitious as may bee, and already by their father himselfe trained vp in the handling of affaires, and almost put in full possession of his kingdomes, will hardly bee content to bee married for a peece of money, and leaue such great riches vnto their yoong brother, sicklie, and as they say, an Idiot: so that, mee thinketh this Duke hath worke enough cut out already, needing not to busie himselfe much about any enterprises on this side of the Mounts, which enclose him in. On the other side beyond them, he can doo so little though hee woulde, and hee findeh himselfe in a countrey so full of disadvantage, that beeing of one side kept by the *Germanes*, on another by the *Zuizers*, on the other by the Frenchmen, and on all sides by the *Alpes*, such forces as hee coulde raise out of his countrie, which can bee but verie small, cannot bee transported to anie place, where they may performe anie thing without great losse and difficultie. As for his money, to make good cheere at home hee hath enough: but to make a great warre, not so. The other Princes of *Italie*, as the Dukes of *Ferrara*, of *Mantoue*, of *Florence*, and of *Urbino*, which are almost the chiefest, bee all added to, for to encrease their rolle, and to say: *Loe what a number here is*, and not for any other matter: If there were anie warre in *Italie* betwixt two mightie Princes, such as were *Charles* of *Spaine*, and *Francis* of *France*, they might indeede much further his affaires, whome they would assist. If there must be an armie made

E. of
C. 60
blue
2.000

made vp by sea against the Turke; each one of them shall well be able to set forth a Gallie or twaine, and that is all: but that they may doo much in a great warre, either against vs in *France*, or in *England*, or in *Germanie*, or in *Flanders*; not so. Besides that, as I haue noted, they will neuer be so deepe in the league; but that they will feare more the encrease of *Spaine*, then the decreasing of *Rome*. The Duke of *Parma*, as he is Duke of *Parma*, may be of the number of them, but in respect that hee commandeth ouer the forces of the king of *Spaine* in the lowe countries, surely hee is a great capitaine, without doubt he hath gotten great reputation and credite, bee it amongst the Armies which hee commandeth ouer, bee it amongst the countries where he maketh warre; yea, a credite by inheritance, the remembrance of his mothers gouernment, being most agreeable amongst them. But withall, hee were but vnwise, as well as the Duke of *Sauoy*, if he had not certaine purposes to himselfe, or if hee would sticke more to vaine possibilities then to certainties. For my part I beleue, that hee is not resolu'd to haue laboured all this while in *Flanders* for an other. But there is a farther point in this matter, which is, that as long as he shall make war there, as Lieutenant to the king of *Spaine*, he may do much harme: but if once hee take the way to make himselfe lorde of it, as he may easily in that which he holdeth, after the good mans death, seeing hee can onely perfourme it by gentle meanes, and the good will of the people, hee is not to be feared any more, but must needs withdraw himselfe out of the league. As for the Duke of *Lorraine*, hee is a great lorde, but a pettie Prince: take away from before his eyes the hope of possibilities, which they made him conceiue in *France*, for his sonne, which only hath brought him in, with the league, hee will eftsoones take that side which may breede his owne quietnesse, and not seeke any quarrell. Hee is verie wise: and therefore I beleue that our stirrings in *France* proceede not from him at this time. Notwithstanding there is no doubt but that hee employeth himselfe in this generall matter against vs: but I thinke that in this point there resteth this benefite, viz. as long as he shall hinder the growing vp of the Duke of *Guise* his cosin, as he must needs do, for his sonnes

See
Joan

See
Lorraine

Take, he doth vs more good, then otherwise he could dovs
 harme: now he hindreth him in respect of the crowne, the
 which at length agreeing and hauing some intelligence with
 the Queene mother vnto the king, his mother in lawe, hee
 will rather demand for his sonne then for the other. And I
 holde it for a most true principle, that the duke of *Guise* our
 capitall aduersarie, is already so farre in, that he must needs
 either be king, or be vndone altogether: there is no meane
 for him betwene these two extremities. *Marius, Cinna, Pompey, Lepidus,* and *Antonie* may be examples hereof. As soone
 as a man hath aspired vnto tyranny, *Aut Caesar aut nihil.* I haue
 spoken heretofore of his meanes: they are indeede great
 enough in *France*, because the side of the catholikes is great,
 amongst whom he is of great credit, and his assurance being
 his chiefe strength, that the king wil put vp al his presumptuousnesse. But as for him, I doubt not, but that as his particular purpose tendeth to our state, so, if he had in his chests the ducats of the *Indies*, he would make a breach in them, & afterward doo much harme vnto others. But he is extreme poore, and indetted, the seconde token of a man that commonly aspireth vnto nouelties. Besides that, he hath too manie that stand against his purposes, not only of his enemies, as the king of *Nauarre*, and the princes of the blood: but of his owne friends, as the heires of *Spaine*, of *Lorraine*, and of *Sauoy*, and those of his owne house, which doo pretende as much right to the vsurping of our crowne as he doth: and to the which, seeing hee must needs vse them for his turne as he dooth, hee must needs likewise giue some part of his pray, if hee can praie vpon any thing: which will breede him infinite gelousies, so that all the power me thinketh, of this partner can stretch no farther than to the dissipation and dismembriing of our realme: yet shall hee bee faine to haue helpe thereto. For, that he should make warre either against the *Germanes*, or *Englishmen*, he will hardly do it, or at least it will neuer be, before hee hath made an end of his matters in *France*, which is a long peece of worke. And vpon that I will obserue one most true qualitie of our nation: that is, that such is our nature, that we can be cōtent vnder a king that is already established to deuide our selues, we will make ciuill

obserue
 3. of 2

amongst
 3. of 2
 2. of 2
 1. of 2

amongst
 3. of 2
 2. of 2
 1. of 2

ciuill warres, and vproares: but if there were none, or that we were to provide for the Crowne, we would neuer suffer the renting a lunder of it. For if a prince should nor find himselfe to set foot in the whole, he would hardly be suffered to diuide it, except he were a mightie Prince neere vnto it, as the king of *Spaine*, who by his strength, and by the meanes of his Countries, might hold the part that hee had kered vp: yet were it hard for him. Finally, I will yie but two testimonies to shewe that this mans power is no such great matter. The one, that in the beginning of the league, when his fire was most kindled, when men thought that at a word of his mouth, all *France* would set vp their crestes, hee neuer found himselfe accompanied with a thousand French horsemen, and foure thousand footmen at the most: yea all those vanished away in one moneth, notwithstanding, that he had prodigally spent all the money which hee receiued out of *Spaine*, and his owne in gathering them together. The other, that being since entred into the warre, a small armie of reiters, consisting of foure thousande five hundred horsemen, and of three or foure thousande Lanquenets, with a few Switzers, did passe in spight of him through his gouernment euen to the verie heart of *France*: did beate him, and beate him againe in their passage, as often as they saw him: albeit that he had called about him all his friends, partakers, and power, and that he had besides all this, the best part of the kinges: albeit likewise that a yeare before, he had boasted, that he would fight with the Germaines euē vpo the Rhynes side, and that it stood him greatly vpon for his credite so to doo. But yet without doubt, if men should suffer this head of a faction, to growe on, and except God had bridled him, he is the greatest, the ablest, and the most daungerous enimie, that such states as make profession of the religion can haue.

There are yet behinde two of the worst: to wit, the Pope, and the king of *Spaine*. The first is the brawlingest, the most seditious of all, and yet neuertheles the weakest. It is a common thing, *Acutum reddere qui possit ferrum, non ipse secandi*. To speake the truth, he serueth for nothing else but to edge their knives. The Popes they cannot tell an houre before

E 3

they

agut
Reddere qui ferrum valet exors ipse secandi

Horat. sat. 1. 1.

they are, whether they shalbe Pope or not. Before they come
 to that, they are most commonly pette Italian Cardinales
 (for gelousie keepeth the greatest from it) who during the
 Cardinalship, had no farther practises then to catch some an-
 nate or benefice. Those that are able to stirre vp coales, are
 not slightly preferred: *Italy* hath sared the worse for it. Last of
 all, none can come by it without paying well for it: and
 they are all such good husbandes as that they leaue as lit-
 tle as they can to their successour: insomuch that the newe
 Pope hath enough to doo for the three or foure first yeares
 to pay those which haue solde him his See; and afterwarde
 to liue. And it is an extraordinarie thing when they passe
 nine or tenne yeares: else straightwaies they say: *Exit ser-
 mo inter fratres, quod discipulus iste non moritur*. For they are ve-
 rie olde when they are chosen: so that ere they can do any
 harme, they are carried to their graues. And as for this man
 if there were no more but he, we should not neede to feare
 anie thing else then Bulles and leade, which hurt none but
 those that are afraide of them. The king of *Spaines* gold
 were much more to bee feared: whome I haue kept for
 the last, as the greatest of all, and the first moouer, who
 maketh all the others to moue. But hee for his part hath
 likewise manie discommodities which bind his handes; and
 of this one, because all *Europe* ringerh of his name, wee must
 say somewhat the more.

This Prince is sonne to *Charles* the fift, that great troubler
 of the worlde, who hath tossed all so much topsie turuie, so
 long as hee was in it: who was happier by the meanes of
 his Lieutenantes then by himselfe: who had eyther for his
 friendes or for his foes at fundrie times all the Princes of
 his time: a mightie Prince notwithstanding, vigilant, a war-
 rior, (if euer there were any) and painefull in the warres:
 besides full of courtesie and humanitie, and such a one as
 truely was woorthie of the name of *Cesar*, and woorthie of
 the Empire. This same was brought vp in affaires by his fa-
 thers, euen from his cradle: yet was he much more happie
 than he: and his good happe consisteth in this, that as long
 as his yeares could encourage him to great matters, hee ne-
 uer mette with any that crossed him. His father had at one
 time

time the great *Francis* of *France*, the great *Henric* of *England*, *Solyman* in the East part, and the Princes of *Germanie*, which thoroughly exercised his witts : So that, on what side euer he turned himselfe, hee founde businesse enough. Besides that, he found all the Countries rounde about him, as strong, and as like to set vppon him, as he vpon them. That was it, that made his fortune so diuerse. Contrariwise, *Philip* at this day king of *Spain* hath beene fauoured with such fortune as had neuer interruption. But that is more to bee attributed, to that which fell out about him, then to himselfe. *France* in his time hath beene ruled by a woman, and by children, or so royled by ciuill warres, that they haue alwaies founde worke enough within themselves. *England* likewise ruled by a woman, who following the nature of her kinde, hath wisely contented her selfe with maintaining her subiectes in peace, and defending her state from her neighbours attempts, not enterprising any thing against them. *Germanie* by peaceable Princes. The East partes by *Selim* a great drunkard, who tooke pleasure in nothing but his drinke, and since by *Amorat* his sonne, halfe an Idiot, who stirreth not from the *Mosqueeta*. So that wee must not say, that he had good lucke euerie where, but that hee founde no where any bodie that might breede him any euill lucke : all which notwithstanding, hee hath performed no great matters. The conquest of *Portugall* and of *India*, hath beene more easie then luckie : there was no great labour. The conquest of *Tercera*, and the victorie ouer the Frenchmen shall not seeme so strange, if wee consider that it was a whole armie of *Spain*, against a companie of ships gathered together in *France*. As for the battailes of *Gracelne*, and of *Saint Quintin*, they were yet remnantes of his fathers victories, they were the armies that from their youth had followed the olde mans fortune, there was but litle of his, his person it selfe was not there. Nothing did stirre in *Italie*, In *Burgundie*, in the kingdome of *Naples*, in *Sicilia* nothing : where contrariwise in *Affrica* hee hath lost *Gonlesta*, the onely labour of *Charles* his father, and all that he had there. His victories haue not stretched so farre in *Flanders*, but that there is more behinde to doo. The reason why?

because

because hee hath founde there some resistance. It is an easie
 matter for a man to winne, when no bodie plaieeth against
 him. Nowe, euen now, hauing gotten enimies woorthie of
 his forces, wee shall see what he can doo in England with all
 his great preparations: wee shall see whether he shall keepe
 still that renowned great fortune. Concerning the state that
 hee findeth himselfe in at this time, it is such. First he is ex-
 treme old, and yet more broken. Hee hath but two daugh-
 ters, and a yoong boy: they great ones, ambitious already,
 and proud to the vttermost: the one Dutchesse of *Sauoy*, the
 other brought vp in her fathers armes, and in the affaires
 of his estate, the which she alone gouerneth: his sonne is lit-
 tle and sickly, as I haue saide: now are these occasions of di-
 uisions. For in *Spaine* the daughters may succede. Besides
 that, his state is much diuided. The lowe Countries, which
 were his best messe, are farre scattered from him. All that
 which is cut off from him, as the Prouinces which are vni-
 ted with the Queene of England, he can see no hope euer to
 recouer. That which the Prince of *Parma* holdeth vnder his
 authoritie, he scarce assureth himselfe, that after his death he
 will faithfully surrender it vnto his children. The other is a
 braue Prince, a great Captaine, beloued of those ouer whom
 he commandeth, esteemed of the others as I haue said; who
 hath vsed great moderation, and obserued his faith to his
 people, that are already highly pleased with that manner of
 gouernment, which his mother had vsed before him: who
 hath purchased great credite amongst them, and that e-
 nough, to make him hereafter able to keepe this portion in
 stead of *Portugall*, which to his iudgement the king of *Spaine*
 hath taken from him: and who how soeuer it be, will be grie-
 ued that all his labours should be dedicated to a maid, or to
 a little boy. The Dutchie of *Mylan* is neare vnto the Duke
 of *Sauoy*: hee wil pretend right vnto it, in the behalfe of his
 wife, and according to his contract of marriage? The king-
 dome of *Naples*, and the townes of *Italie* will follow the for-
 tune of the Dutchie of *Mylan*. *Portugall* is hee as yet scarce
 assured of: the *Portugalles* greued that *Spaniards* should rule
 ouer the, as much the more their enimies as they are neerer
 vnto them, as it is an ordinarie thing to all people. The

Indies

Indy as well the *Portingalles* as the *Spanish* ones, the onelie
 sinnew of this state, will belong vnto him that shall possesse
 either *Portigall* or *Spaine*. The case thus standing, this Prince
 hath hencefoorth more neede so thinke vpon the preferua-
 tion of his house, and his Lordships (which doubtlesse are
 like to be deuided after his death) then to trouble his neigh-
 bours. To speake the trueth, hee is rich: but hee is at in-
 fidite charges, scarce haning any countrie where hee is not
 forced to keepe a great garrison. That he standeth in neede,
 he maketh it knowne sufficiently to the troupes which hee
 keepeth in *Flanders*, where he is sometimes a yeare or eigh-
 teene monethes without giuing them a pennie. As hee
 is rich of money, so hee is poore of men: hee can get none
 but onely out of *Germanie*, out of *Spain*, out of *Italie*, or
 out of *Burgundie*. Now therefore marke his weakenesse. As
 touching the *Germanes*, if wee were all vnitd together, wee
 would keep him either from raising vp any, or frō bringing
 through any, the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, of whome he can fur-
 nish no great number, (for they are no populous countries,
 as euerie man knoweth.) Before they can come to deale ei-
 ther with *France*, the lowe vniuersities, or *Germany*, the places
 where wee are, he must leade them either by sea, or through
 such hard waies, that if we were all of one minde, hee should
 loose halfe of them before they were able to doo him any
 seruice. The *Spaniards* can not come but either by sea, or ouer
 the mount Pyrenees. The *Italians* ouer the Alpes, or thro-
 rough *Germany* in such waies, as if wee would we might stop
 them all. Last of all, there is nothing more wretched than
himselfe in his owne countrie, nothing so easie to bee bea-
 ten. And it is most sure that hee might easily haue bene o-
 uerthrowne by *Portugall*, if he had bene liuely set vpon that
 way, since *Don Antonio* was driuen out of it. Thus haue you
 briefly the state which the mightiest of our enemies is in.
 Which to my iudgement, being well considered, ought not
 to seeme so mightie, as hee is esteemed. These facts with
 and examples doe declare it. Seeing that in twentie yeares,
 that he hath employed to conqueere *Flanders* againe, the one
 ly place where he hath employed all his power, he hath not
 profited much. yet can it not be said that hee hath founde

there any resistance worthie of him: notwithstanding it is
evident, that, had it not bene for the late Monsieur's will
rule, and the Prince of Orange's death, most wretchedly mis-
thenced, a manifest token of this enemies weakenes; hee was
almost driven to dispaire, and had lost all these Coun-
tries, without anie remission; whatsoeuer hee could haue
doone.

When our enemies state shall thus be considered one by
one, it shall bee founde according to the common saying;
That all is not golde that glistereth. But if they bee yet heare-
obserued in grosse, it will stande well with that iudgement
which I giue of them. They shall be all founde farre distant
in places and Countries. The greatest and strongest part
is in *Spain*, and *Italie*: yet they bee distant foure hundredth
Leagues by lande; the other is in *France*, but it is such a
small thing, that if the power of *Spain* and *Italie* shoulde not
ioyne together to helpe it, it woulde bee soone smothered
vp. Wee shall see that each of these partakers, which enter
into this generall League, doo bring but the least part of
their wishes vnto the generall intent, all the rest beeing for
their owne particular; wee shall finde that the most of them
tende in manner to one thing: the king of *Spain*, the
Duke of *Brittaine*, or *Savoy*, and of *Genoys*, to the Crowne of
France; Wherein, it cannot be chosen but that there be some
gelousies, and that the same thing which vnitheth them, se-
uereth them againe. We shall see also, that they haue contra-
rie purposes one to another, as those which I haue obser-
ued of the Duke of *Parma*, and the Duke of *Savoy*. And in
fine, wee shall marke that of the two last, viz. the King of
Spain & the Pope, who are as it were the pillars of this league;
the one is extreme old and so sicke, that euen this yeare hee
hath giuen ouer all manner of businesse: yea so farre forth,
that manie are of opinion that age hath bereaued him of his
senses. The other, which is the Pope, can make no recko-
ning of his power, but so long as hee shall liue: and consi-
dering his age, hee cannot liue long; leaning perchance
such a succellour as will rather busie himselfe so to builde vp
his owne house, then to pull downe another mans: that
will rather deuise new practices, then follow his Predecessors.

Thus

3.34.35.

ixth
en de
mum
ost.

Thus haue you by whole and plectuall leene all our en-
 mies forces. Now if against their generall meanes we oppose
 ours generally: if wee gather together those of the Queene
 of England: of the king of *Nauarre*: of the king of *Denmarke*:
 of the Princes of *Germanie*: of the states of the lowe coun-
 tries and of the Cantons of *Switzerlande*, what a power shall
 we finde? If we vse ours against them, by reason of the com-
 moditie we haue, to ioyne our selues without any let, *France*,
England, *Germanie*, both high and low, and *Switzerlande*, ioy-
 ning one to an other, shall we not sooner ouerthrow all their
 practises, than they can take them in hand? We I say whom
 our religion may knit farer together then them, as being
 better than theirs: we that haue no other purpose but to
 defend our selues and maintaine our rightes, which vnited
 vs together: who haue no particular intent that might breed
 any gelousie amongst vs, or being contrarie might diuide
 vs. There is no doubt of it: let vs then see the proofe. It
 is three yeares agoe, since the king of *Spain* cut downe all
 the Forrestes of *Italy* to bulde his *Caruaggs*: layeth all the
 moores of *Africa*, to make Galley stables: turneth the *Py-
 rades* vpside downe, with digging and seeking to finde out all
 the Goldmines, as though he had no more to do hereafter.
 It is three yeares agoe since he had no other speech but of
 Ankers, of Cables, of ropes and saytes: since hee threat-
 neth the Ocean, if it doth not vse his shippes gently: since
 that hee chargeeth the windes to fauour them, and all this
 to make vp a mightie and Spanish (that is to say) proud ar-
 mie by sea, whose shadowe alone may cause not onely the
 masts of ships, but also all the toppes of the steeple of Eng-
 land to stoope. For these three yeres space he is with child of
 an armie. And to speake the truth, as these great peeces of
 worke are not soone brought forth, nor with ease, so he be-
 stoweth much time & labour to be deliuered of lecherings
 commonly are lesser at their birth then men thinke of. Then
 in the end it shall be borne in *Biscay*, weaned at *Conquet*,
 and finding it selfe right against *Englande*, it shall haue
 strength and stature enough to reuolue the order of knight-
 hood. Both not this proue, that in one only place, viz. *Eng-
 lande* we are able to resist the most dangerous of our enemies?

No. 1
 downe
 186 3
 p. 186
 186

Cl. m.
 186
 Lion of

It is three yeares since hee threatned it, hee hath not yet so much as made it afraid. Tush, when will he be able to hurt it? It is as long since the Duke of *Guise* (who in a maner plaith with the king and the realme of *France*, his power being holpen with money out of *Spaine*, with the forces of the Prince of *Perpaigne*, and all the Catholike States) maketh warre against the king of *Norwiche*: in which space there hath beene eight armys by land leuied to that purpose, and the ninth by seas. Of nine of them thanks be to God, eight are gone backe againe without doing any thing: the ninth hath been quite ouerthrowen in a battaile. Now, if it can not be said that this poore Prince was in the meane while assailed eyther with one pennie or one man, the money & helpes which his friends had sent him, being not yet come as far as vnto him, is it not a certaine prooffe that this people hath more facing than doings. It is twenty yeares since that the low countries are let vpo by the same king of *Spaine*, with all the forces that he could make out of his countrie, out of *Italy*, and all those that he could get out of *Germany*. He hath bin alwaies fortunate in it. Almost all the battailes that haue bin fought there he hath wonne. What hath he done. They are yet at this day in such a case, as if they can once haue good correspondence one with an other, he is to begin of new, & in danger of losing his labor, his paines, & his charges that he hath laid out in that country. Iudge you now, if so it were that the king of *Denmark*, the Princes of *Germany*, & the Cantons of the *Switzers*, which they durst not meddle withall, had brought their helpes & forces to make these violent dealings of the king of *Spaine* in *Flanders* and *England* to cease, and those of *Guise* in *France*: how long to mans iudgemēt, were they able to stand before vs? I leaue more to conclude hereupon, that I speake not of. In the mean while, although we haue no forces then they, that we haue bettes meanes of intelligence one with another, yet doo they agree better one with an other then we do, & are stronger than we are. Let vs returne that reproch vnto our negligence: and not attribute it vnto their indutrie: to our base minds, and not to their courage. God hath put into our handes the meanes both to liue at rest & to defend our selues frō their tyranny: yea & to bring them vnder the

the joke, if we would so doe. But to make an end of this
speech diuine like, sumas I haue begun in, I beleue that it
is the same God, and the same Lorde, who will not haue vs
to hold out deliuerance as from our selues, neither from our
owne arme, but from him alone.

Men thinketh that my minde is nowe much eased, when
that after I haue runne ouer all *Europe*, which is altogether
almost troubled and afflicted with dissentions in religion, I
returne vnto *France*, which I thought onely to haue bene
plagued with this euill. God visiteth not it onely, neither is
it alone threatned: other places haue their part. I returne
then to her againe better satisfied then I was, to conelude
this discourse which I began for her sake. This visarde, this
vaile, which had bleared vp first the kings eies, and after him
all the Frenchmens, is at length pulled away. When the
league began first, three yeares agoe, there were men yet
that were either so without shame, or without sense, as that
they excused this rebelling, they shadowed it with a zeale of
religion, with a care, least that after a good catholike king,
there should succede him a Hugonot. This serued the trait-
tors pretence that were about the Prince, whom they knew
so dedicated and passionate towards his owne religion, that
euen with this worde they stopped his mouth, they tooke a-
way from him all manner of replying together with all the
meanes that he might vse to iudge what he had to do about
this matter. But nowe, I do not thinke that there is any bodie
in all the realme, nay not the veriest *Iesuite*, that could ex-
cuse the Duke of *Guizes* attempt at *Paris*, against his owne
king. What a maner of one it was, I desire no other discourse
then his owne, the very same which he hath published. Now
if one should aske what, in my minde will ensue vpon it? hee
should trouble me shrewdly. I haue saide elswhere, that no-
thing is more dangerous for a king, then the compassing of
his Maiestie: that there is nothing which diminisheth it
more, then if hee shewe, that hee feareth some bodie in his
realme: it is a kinde of feare, to suffer presumptuousnes, and
not punish it. Yet when it is but a common presumption
which concerneth particular ones, the cloke of gentle ele-
mencie sometimes doth excuse thnorousnesse: but if it bee
towards

Exempla
Civis

toward the Prince himselfe, if it doth violate the holy respect
 which men owe to the sacred person of the king, who so ever
 suffreth them, is no longer king. If this vnexcusable treche-
 rie be pardoned, if the king letteth it slippe vnder silence, it
 may be well said, *Sceleris finem putas? gradus est.* And there is
 no doubt but that within these two yeares there will be such
 bold and villanous actions committed, as that this shall bee
 counted but for a light trick of youth; I am of the reformed
 religion, thanks be to God, who hath vouchsafed to make
 me such an one; me, I say, who through the forgetfulnesse
 of his great benefites, had made my selfe altogether vnwor-
 thie of this latter one, which is not to be compared with any
 other: neuerthelesse, if so it were that the king should thinke
 that the king of Navarre and wee with him had attempted
 such treacherous and detestable practises against his life, and
 estate, that with good conscience hee might not pardon vs.
 God forbid, that vnder pretence of this quarrell I shoulde
 counsell him to call vs to him, to forget our offences, and to
 vse our helpe to bring him out of those troubles, wherinto
 hee is put daylie by his owne folkes. But not as a French-
 man, not as a Christiā, but as a man, I dare wel counsel him.
 What, counsaile him? may prophetic, that if this argument
 of the wrath of God against him, doth not stirre him vp to
 wish his owne good, and with his owne good, the quietnesse
 of this realme: the way of peace: the meanes to become a
 king: to take away all part takings out of his realme, except
 his owne: and as the Scepter belongeth to none but him-
 selfe, not to suffer it to bee broken in peeces, and euerie one
 most vnwoorthilie to carrie away a morsell of it, him selfe
 being the first, and most true cause of his mischiefe, let him
 bee assured, that in steede of taking it away from him, God
 will encrease it double folde vnto him. I will not only speake
 of those of the league; I doo yet speake of our selues; That
 which others do through wickednes, we do it by necessitie:
 yet notwithstanding al is alike to him in regard of his crown:
 it is as well spoyled, and pulled a sunder by the one as by the
 other: his people as much troden downe by vs as by the
 league. And were it not that we defend our selues, wher they
 set vppon vs: that where wee are pursued, they pursue: that
 where

where wee submit alwaies our selves vnto him; the others
 would submit him vnto them: it might be well said, that the
 harme which we doo perforce vnto his realme, is as great as
 that which they doo for their pleasure, and to satiation their
 ambition. For this euill, alas, there is but one remedie: let
 him onely take vpon him to remedie it; hee may be a peace-
 able and absolute king, obeyed, feared, beloued, dreadfull;
 if he list. But what do we wish that God should put the power
 into his handes, except first hee hath the will in his heart? not
 Mightie Prince, why doost thou not beleene thy selfe? thou
 hast not so faithfull a counsaillour. I haue hearde thee heere-
 tofore blame the king of *Portugal* fault, who aduentured all
 his state vppon one battaile: as iudging wisely, that there is
 nothing more miserable, then a disherited Prince. Oh?
 where hast thou laide vp thy wisdom? thou venturdest thy
 selfe vppon lesse a hundreth times then a battaile. Who hath
 bin able to perswade thee, that these men who haue no other
 desire then thy death, no other scope then thy crowne, will
 lay downe their weapons which they haue vowed against
 thee onely, when they see thee bitterly bent, and verie cruel
 against those of the religion? No no, thou must giue ouer
 thy crowne, else thou shalt neuer haue peace with them: and
 I beleue if thou couldst giue it ouer without danger of thy
 life withall, thou hast enough about thee that haue such bra-
 sen faces, as to counsell thee thereto. They haue drinck thee
 out of *Paris* which neuer the Englishmen, the Spaniards, nor
 the Germanes did thy great grandfathers: yet by thy let-
 ters patents thou shewest vnto thy people, that in stead of re-
 uenging thy selfe of it, it seemeth thou thinkest it verie long;
 vntil they haue pardoned thee. Thou commadest the to pray
 to God for this reconciliation: there is then belike no other
 dāger to lift vp any mans hand against his king. Beleene the;
 that he that durst to day make thee sicke, will dare to kill thee to-
 morrow. But is not this, oh mightie king, an aduenturing of
 thy selfe, when thou lettest thy subiects perceiue that it is so
 easie a matter to attempt against thee; whē in stead of reuenging
 thy selfe, thou praieest that those may be pacified, whom thou
 oughtest to haue punished? Who could so mischieuously per-
 swade thee that the remedy of thy mischief was the civil war?
 that

17-18. that by that course thou shouldest recover thine authoritie
 ouer thy subiects. Alas how art thou deceined? There is no
 thing more dangerous in a building then fire: in a bodie,
 then a continuall feuer: and in a state, then a ciuill warre. If
 thou wilt remedie these euils, quench the fire which burneth
 thy house: asswage the continuall feuer of the bodie of thy
 estate, giue it peace. For that is the onely meane to pre-
 serue thy realme. Thou saist that if thou shouldest but pro-
 nounce this worde of peace to them of the religion, thou
 shouldest haue presently vpon it all the catholike armies of
 Christendome against thee, which wil spoile thee of thy state.
 Yea if thou pronouncest it as hee that latelie fled away from
Paris, before the duke of *Guise*. But pronounce it as he that
 wanne the battailes of *Iarnac* and *Moncontour*, who alone
 wert more dreadfull then all the rest of thine armie: vtter it
 onely after that sort, that thou shalt finde all men to tremble.

If vpon this good and holie resolution, thou wilt arme thy
 selfe, *England*, *Germanie*, & *Suitzerland* will couer all thy plaines
 with horse and armed men, for thy seruice. They will send
 thee sufficient forces to beat *Spaine* and *Italie*, yea and thy
France, if it were ioyned with them. Think thou that this
 will be first the benefit of thy realme, and it will be easie af-
 terward so to perswade thy people, when thy selfe shalt be-
 lieue it. And thy people, if thou bee willing of it, they
 will account all such as shall with the contrarie to bee their
 enemies and thine. But thou fearest the league: Who then
 shall bee bolde for thee: whence shall wee take courage but
 from thine. Grant a reasonable peace and quietnesse vnto
 thy subiectes, begin with thine owne first: with the catho-
 likes, make them to bee content with reason, and feare not
 then but the rest wil be brought to it: they are too weake to
 stand against thee in an euill cause. Such a one will theirs be
 if they refuse an indifferent peace: but they will not doo so:
 they neuer did it, it is too common a proverbe in thy court.
Let them be pleased with a sermon. Thou art yet afraide: good
 Lord of whom? of the king of *Spaine*? Shew him the pictures
 of thy father, and thy grandfather, and he will tremble euen
 to the farthest of *Castile*. Of the Pope? Hast thou not yet a-
 bout thee some heires of *Charles of Bourbon*? these are but
 toies.

toies. How can it bee possible, that thou who hast seene so much, who hast handled so many matters, who hast so great experience, canst haue this apprehension engraued so deepe within thee, and vpon so small an occasion? Beleue these two principles: the one, that thy eninlies haue their best friende of thee: the other, that if it were not for that blacke cloud which thou seest about *Rochell*, which they feare more than thee, they would haue buried thee long agoe: but yet adde this third also, and beleue it, that whensoever thou shalt earnestly wish the good and rest of thine estate, it shall lie in thy power to be master, to bring as well the one as the other so farre vnder, in respect of thy obedience, and thy place, that they shall not be able to turne an Egge, without thy leaue. They perswade thee, that the strongest side is the catholikes, and that thou must needs ground thy selfe verie deepe therein, and become chiefe of it, to take away this title from the Duke of *Guize*. They perswade thee, but they deceiue thee. The parties ought not to receiue thee, neither thou to go vnto them. They ought to come to thee, & thou to receiue them. To be a king is thy part: thou hast no need of any other: let all the rest yeeld vnto this. What meaneth this: that a king of *France* shoulde enter into gelousie with a Duke of *Guize*, that he should be put in danger of loosing his credit by his meanes. Dost thou not know that this gelousie maketh thee equal? and presently being equal, inferiour? well may there be steps to clime vp to a crowne, but there is none to come downe: it is a downe right fal. If a king come neuer so little downeward, he falleth down right. They counsell thee to feigne thy selfe sore angred against vs: after thou hast feigned a while, thou becommest so in earnest. They yet deceiue thee more, and were it not for thy affection to thy religion, thou mightest iudge easily of it. Assure thy selfe that this D. which becommeth so mightie in thy realme, keepeth to no other end the best part of that which he hath with him, but onely because it is to thy selfe that he hath a meaning to. Dost thou thinke that those which serue him haue no other scope then the destruction of the *Huguenots*? No, no. What is there to be gotten against them? If I had giuen my selfe ouer to follow him, for my part I would thinke to haue done it, in
respect

respect of his hope to be king one day. For that he should be
 thought well of in respect of his zeale towards his catholike
 religion, in putting manie Huguenots to death, it will serue
 to raile vp all the porters of Paris, and make them crie:
Haue amongst the Huguenots. Those which are sufficient to
 helpe him to turne vp a realme, haue other considerations
 then that, Now these considerations are not put out of their
 heads, by thy fierce countenance against those of their religi-
 on, and thy quaking looks towards the league. This is con-
 trariwise, the way to encrease them, their helpes, their ser-
 uants, and their authoritie. When men see, that thou shewest,
 that thou art thy selfe afraide of them: who then shall not
 feare them? What emboldeneth men, but impunitie? Of na-
 ture wee loue to be at libertie. There was neuer any realme
but that it did strine to become, if it were possible, a popular
estate. There is nothing that a prince ought to keepe more
 preciously then his respect, his maiestie, and his feare: which
 being once lost, can neuer bee recovered, but onely by such
 things as breed feare, that is to say, by violence and crueltie.
 Mightie king, thou shalt accept this speech as it shall please
 thee: it belongeth not to mee to limit thy purposes. But if
 thou readest it with as much passion for thine owne good, as
 I write it, thou shalt thinke, if any too violent a word dooth
 escape me, yea against thee, that it is the verie indignation
 and hart burning that forceth mee vnto it, when I see the
 wrong and iniuries that are done vnto thee: to the which it
 seemeth after a manner, thou doost consent by thy patience.
 Do not thinke that I did meane to accuse the courage which
 is in thy selfe: all *Europe* would giue me the lie: and if thou
 wouldest haue any witnesses of it, thou shouldest neede none
 but our selues (whome thou hast beaten so often) to speake
 of it. Verelie belecue, that the grieve which I conceiue to
 see thee suffer through euill counsaile, those bolde partes
 which are onelie attempted vpon confidence that thou wilt
 suffer them, doo wrest this both out of my heart and my
 penne. I knowe that all those which are about thee, haue hi-
 therto betraied thee: that that which thou hast done against
 thy selfe, thou hast done it by taking that counsell, where by
contrariwise other princes do most commonly erre, that is,
 by

by beleeuing of counsaile. I was present when it was tolde thee, that all thy townes, all thy people, all thy prouinces were alreadie the duke of Guizes, all thy men were his. They told thee it, but none other then themselues that tolde thee it, were belonging vnto him: and they did tell thee it to no other end, but onely to sell thee, and betray thee vnto him. The strongest armies of the league which are against thee, haue beene in thy court, in thy counsell, in thy priuie chamber. So that it was verie hard but that thou shouldest be hindered by so many thinges contrarie to thy good purposes. But seeing that God in this last danger whereinto hee had brought thee, hath take away al excuse, & occasion of doubt, let this at the least giue thee a mind to loue thine owne selfe more thē thou hast done: to will earnestly thy own good, thy rest, thy highnesse: and when thou shalt wish it, thou shalt by consequent, wish thy realmes withall.

I wil end in thee, thou firebrand of the war, which hast turned to the destruction of thy king and countrie, those great graces which God had giue thee, for to haue bin able to haue done worthie seruice as well to the one, as the other. Dooft thou not thinke to bee punished one day for the parricide which thou comittest against thine own mother, for so many euils that thou art cause of, or which thou dost thy self to her, who hath done thee so much good? so many euils I say, the which thou mightest haue remedied, either by desiring lesse, or by desiring more wisely, or at least, by bringing in thy desires at length into some cōpasse? Nay, nay: thou needest no other punishment thē thine own practises. They are thy torment. Poore soule, thou art almost forty yeres old, & yet darrest thou not take vpo thee the name of a king: whē wilt thou bring it to passe? Thinkest thou to make easily an end of those which can barre thee from thy vaine hope? For these thirtie yeares, men haue lost their labor in making war against thē. I wil abate thee ten vpon the bargaine, thou hast yet twentie left. What a king art thou like to be at those yeres end, being 60. yeares old? Thou hast bin heard scoffing at the cardinall of Bourbon, whom thou hadst perswaded to haue been one at that age: scarce wilt thou come sooner to it, & yet must many things come well to passe for thee. Thou wilt ouerthrow the

king of *Nanay* (a vaine labour, I am sure both for thee and thy children) dreame rather to saue thy selfe from him: his clawes are greater than thine: but I grant it, thou shalt overthrow him: and it were so, how wilt thou do to raigne? If after his ouerthrow *France* lyeth open to the spoyle, as it can hardly choose: art thou stronger then the king of *Spaine*? hast thou more right than he hath? More than the Duke of *Sanoy*, who is sonne vnto a daughter of *France*, and nearer of blood than thou, & is married also vnto a daughters daughter of *France*? More than the Duke of *Lorraines* sonne thine elder, the sonne likewise of a daughter of *France*, and the kings Nephew. If contrariwise the estate be kept whole and sound, howe wilt thou lawfullie take away the right from the Catholike Princes of the blood which shalbe remaining, who are yet in number enough, and young enough to liue as long as thou, except thou shortnest their liues? Moreouer, before all this commeth to passe, who can perswade thee, that the king who reigneth now, will not keepe thee from reigning? thou canst not so long as hee shall liue: thy first blowes must beginne with him (that canst thou do well enough) thou must make him awaie: for he hindreth thee tenne thousand times more than the king of *Nanay*: and except this bee thy first intent, thou hast no iudgement in thy practises. For thou canst not possibly, whilest he is aliue, bee a king, neither continue long so, in taking the course that thou doest: but thou purpolest to reigne. What then poore wretch, except this bee it that driueth thee on? except some great and mightie ambition dooth puffed vp thy minde, such a one as sometimes possessed either *Marins*, *Sylla*, or *Cesar*, thou shouldest be accursed enough heereafter, for hauing wrought so much mischief in the worlde to no ende. Ambition is the plague of humaine societie: notwithstanding, it hath alwayes most glorioullie set forth by manie and woorthie deedes all such as haue beene possessed with all. Let vs blame ambitious men, yet doo wee admire them. If thou canst beare so woorthie a minde, as to looke for a kingdome, there will bee found heereafter some bodie that will saie, that thou wert woorthie to haue beene borne a king, sith thou couldest vndertake

dertake to haue beene one. Such mischieues and calamities as thou must needs breede, to bring it to passe, shall not be paradiuenture imputed vnto thee: but it shall be said, that fortune would by these meanes make thy comming notorious, that thou wert too great to come foorth by an ordinarie gate, and that thou must needs haue ruines to receiue the and make thee roome. *Nec aliam ventura fata Nostrum inuenire viam.* Thou shalt also be found fault withall: but many that shall finde fault with thee will wish to be like vnto thee: otherwise thou wretch, if vpo a villainous mind thou hast no other end of the euill which thou doest, then to hinder the benefite and quietnesse of all the world; what will our posteritie say of thee? who amongst them will nor call thee the scourge of our age? But seeing thou canst not be king, thou hast no minde to be it: it is enough for thee to trouble and diuide our estate, to the end thou maist keepe the better part for thy selfe. Thou shewest thy selfe yet more wretched. Had not God endued thee with sufficient vertue for to deserue an honorable portion at their handes, to whom all by right doth belong, who would haue beene alwaies so glad to haue thee about them as their kinsman, as thou art: and in steede of a good and profitable seruant as thou mightest haue bin? Hadit thou not rather haue beene beholding to thy Prince for thy good, in bestowing thy seruice vpon thy countrie, then to a forraine Prince in ouerthrowing it quite? Marke what thou doest: thy father, and thy grandfather haue allotted vnto the king of *Spaine*, his part in *Italy*: and thou wouldest allot him it in *France*: *Sic ne patriffas?* Yet is not this all? What then? The onely zeale vnto the catholike religion doth kindle thy heart? Thou saiest it (I belecue) in the face of the world, not in thy Closet: nay I am afraid, except thou vsest shortly other maner of termes, least thou repentest to haue driuen thy king out of *Paris*. He is not an heretike, nor but he is a king. Whofoener shall be it, either in deede, or possibilitie, he is thine enimie. Thou wilt make it knowne at length, that it is onely for that that thou meddest with the king of *Nauarre*, and that thou art more gelous ouer his possibilitie then his conscience: I belecue it well. And if so be it were that he would suffer thee to be king, thou wouldest

castly grant him to be a Hugnonet. It is thy zeale vnto religion: good Lorde! What, to encrease it? There are yet so manie Turkes and Sarrazins aliue which keepe from thee thy kingdome of *Ierusalem*, belonging by inheritance to thy house: why doest thou not rather bende thy prayses that way, then vpon the realme of *France*? To defende it? Tush, who dealeth with it? who durst say any thing against the Catholikes? My opinion then is, that thou shouldest persuade vs that the wolues ought to take heede least the sheepe might surprise them, that Lions were best to mistrust the Deere. Thou saiest the verye same. Where there is one of the religion in *France*, there are a hundred Catholikes. If the king of *Nauarre* should take that course, as to persecute them during the kings life, he should be euill handled: if after he should be worse receiued. Nay, alledge not these excuses: men laugh at them. Say onely that thou wouldest reigne, thou wouldest be king: it is the truest and the best colour of thy Ensigne.

I will conclude at length, and in two or three wordes answer those Letters which thou hast spred abroad. Thou publishest first that thou wert the onelie man that diddest set forward the voyage of *Guyenne*, (*Idest*, against the king of *Nauarre*) to the which thou halt such a minde, But what needest thou to stirre vp an other? Why goest not thou thy selfe? Seeke out there either a victorie or an honorable death, as the Duke of *Loynse* did. Make offer vnto the king to go in thine owne person. Hee will take thee at thy woorde: carrie thither all thy friendes, all thy forces, he will encrease them with his owne. Carriethither the fire of war, seeing it is there that thou shouldest finde thine enimies, and thou shalt finde them in deede. Why doest thou kindle it in *Pycardie*? is there any heretikes also there? I would to God that *Calis* and *Bulloine* were as well minded towards the king of *Nauarre*, as thou chargest them to be: thou shouldest bee kept well enough from quarrelling at *Paris*. Thou shouldest haue leasure enough to enclose thy selfe within *Challons*, and thinke vpon nothing else but thine owne defence. This is the matter. Thou wouldest that the king should leaue in thy handes the protection of *France*, and that

that hee should goe and make warre in thy quarrell in *Gu-
lenne*; that hee shoulde overthrowe thine enimie the king
of *Nauarre*; that hee shoulde giue order vnto thy affaires,
to the ende, that whilest hee shoulde there busie him selfe a-
bout the beating of some sconce, thou mightest heere take
some good towne from him: and vpon condition, that
whensoever hee would returne, he should giue thee roome,
as often as it shoulde please thee. I grant thee it: it is well
and wisely considered of thee: but yet is hee wiser than thou
art, in that hee will not doo so. Thou saiest that the Duke of
Espernon fauoureth the Heretikes; all those that barre thee
from beeing king are Heretikes, according vnto thy rea-
soning: or at least, they fauour them. There will be then
enough in the worlde, if God will. Thinke this to bee
most sure, that if that man would haue had but the least
intelligence of the worlde with the King of *Nauarre*, if hee
had put into his hands euen the least of those townes which
hee had in his power, or holpen him neuer so little with
that commoditie of money that hee might haue hadde,
there had not beene roome enough in *France* to haue hid-
den thee: thou shouldest haue beene vndoone alreadye,
I saie quite vndoone. Giue him thankes for thy preserua-
tion, which his fidelitie hath purchased thee, to his owne
cost and his masters. He is come, saiest thou, to seeke quar-
relles in *Pycardie*, and in *Normandie*. What part hast thou in
these two Prouinces? Of the one, my late lord the Prince
of *Conde* was gouernour: in his absence, there were Lieu-
tenants from the king: of the other, the Duke of *Boyeuse* was
the like. Neither thou, nor any of thy kindred haue anie
right vnto it.

But soft, I must needs excuse thee: thou wouldest
reigne: all is lawfull for thee. Thou doest complaine
moreouer, that there haue beene slanders spredde abroad
against thee, and thine honour, the which (thanks bee to
God) thou hast blotted out by this latter facte of thine.
Thou art a marvellous Oratour: surely it is true, thou hast
well cleared thy selfe. Thou wert accused to haue stirred
vp the people of certaine townes of this Realme, against
such gouernours as the king would haue appointed. Thou
hast

EE
212

hast taken this slander away, in raising vp them of *Paris* against the king himselfe. Thou wert blamed to haue seised vpon his money at *Challons*, at *Rheymes*, at *Soissons*, and euerie where that thou setst thy foote. Thou hast purged thy self in taking that of his owne store in his chiefe towne. Thou wert suspected to haue certaine enterprises against the state, and to aspire vnto the crowne, & that to that purpose thou hadst already seised on some good townes, which either thou or thy parents did hold, to the which the king would not haue obeyed. Thou hast put away this false report by thy personall comming to make thy selfe matter of *Paris*, and driuing out of the king, after thou hadst forced, killed, and vnarmed his guard, and caused the common people to rise in armes against him. So that after this sort thou gallantly wipest away a theft with a sacrilege: a murder with a parricide: a sinne with a crime. Thy subtiltie is too grosse. Thou triumphest, that thou durst come with eight Gentlemen into *Paris*, a token of thy pure innocency. These be great news. Be thou in *Rochell* with all thy new court, all thy traine, and all thy guard: the king of *Nauarre* will come in with foure men, and if going away thou doest not flie, hee will trouble thee. This is easie to be said in *Britaine*: but those that know that all the kinges counsell stand for thee, that his mother fauoureth thee, that all the pickquarrels, all the porters of *Paris*, and all the common people are at thy becke: they will say that thy simplicitie was verie craftie, thy innocencie much suspected. How wilt thou haue vs to belecue that thou hast trusted so gently vnto the king, seeing that after the League was made, when you made your worthie agreement at *S. Mor*, thou wouldest neuer come to him before that thou wert as strong as hee, seeing that whilest hee hath beene in his armie against the Reyters, thou neuer hast set thy foote towards him, sauing once when thou diddest surprise him, and that but a quarter of an houre. Nay, beleene mee: it is thy occupation to worke such feates, but not to excuse them: thou canst better doo the one then the other. It is plaine enough, seeing thou vauntest thy selfe, that thou mightest haue retained thy king, against his will. Ah, what saiest thou, thou stranger? retaine a king of *France*? It is all that

37
that *Europe* being confederated were able to doo: it is the enterprife of an Emperour, yet a verie dangerous one. If thy Grandfather had thought, that thou wouldest euer haue pronounced these words, he would haue smothered vp thy father, to let thee from comming into the world: in a peaceable estate, in a quiet realme, that worde onely would haue cost thee thy head. That is likewise the reason why thou troublest it.

As for the rest of thy publike letter, all the wordes of it are too plaine, too well set downe to be found fault withall. Whilest thou makest a discourse of thy valour, they shewe what is thine intent better than any man can do, I will onely note the end of it, where thou saiest, that thou hast seised vpon the *Bastille*, the *Arsenall*, and other publike places, the kinges Coffers and Exchequor, to surrender all againe into his Maiesties handes well pacified, as thou hopest to bring to passe by the Popes intercession, and other the Princes of Christendome: if not, with the same helps thou wilt trie to reskue the Catholikes out from the persecution of those that are about him, and fauour the heretikes. What a braue dilemma is this. I beleue, thou meanest not by pacified, peaceable or appeased, but in such state as that he be not able to make warre against thee: which thou hopest to procure by the forces and helps of *Spaine*, and *Italie*: that is the intercession which thou meanest. And in fine, thou meane and simple subiect denouncest war against thy king. Others endure it, thou beginnest it. If the late Emperor had but said so much to his father, all Christendome woulde haue beene vp in armes, both of one side, and other, vpon this worde. If God also stirre vp his heart, I hope it will be thy last.

A declaration of the Kinges pleasure, published after his departure from Paris: importing the cause of his sudden and forced going away.

TRustie and welbeloued. Beeing in our towne of *Paris*, where we bent our onelie cogitations to no other thing but the appeasing of all sortes of ielousies and disturbances

• H

bances in *Picardie* & else where, which hindered our iourney into our countrie of *Poillon*, there to prosecute the wars enterprised against the *Hugonots*, according as we had resolved; our cosen the Duke of *Guize*, vnwares to vs, did there arriue the 9. of this moneth. His comming after that sort so encreased the saide gelousies & distrustes, that we were much troubled therewith; the rather for that before we had from diuers places beene aduertised, that he should come in such maner: also, that he was looked for, by sundry the inhabitants of the same towne, who were suspected to be the authors of the said distrustes, besides that our selfe had before for the same cause giuen him to vnderstand, that wee were nothing desirous of his comming before we had appeased the aforelaid troubles of *Picardy*, & quite takē away the causes of the same. Considering neuerthelesse, that he came accompanied only with 14. or 15. horses, we were content to see him, and that the rather to the end to endeouour so to dealē with him, that all occasions of gelousie and distrust might be extinguished: wherein seeing howe smallie wee profited, as also that our said towne grewe daily more and more replenished with gentlemen and strangers, retainers to the said Dukes traine: also that such searches, as we caused the magistrates and officers thereof to make, were through the feare wherinto they were driuē, performed to halfe: likewise, that the hearts and affections of sundry the inhabitants were daily prouoked, and more and more alienated: together with the ordinarie aduertisements whereby we were from time to time enformed of some great troubles to fall out in the same towne, wee determined to cause the saide searches to bee more exactly performed throughout al the quarters therof than the former: to the end therby to discouer & truly find out the state of the same: also to auoid such strangers as shold be found not to be aduowed as they ought. For the performance whereof we thought it good to strengthen certaine the bodies of the gardes of the inhabitants & burgeses of the same towne whom we had appointed to be planted in 4. or 5. corners thereof, with the companies of *Zuizers*, and such as were of the regiments of our guard: who before were lodged in the suburbs: also to command diuers the lords of the counceyl & knights of our order

of

of the holy ghost, to march along the streetes and quarters thereof accompanied with the quarter masters & others the officers of the saide towne, such as haue beene vsually accustomed to make the saide searches, to the end by their countenance to authorize & assisist them in the same, as hath sundrie times bin practised. Whereof also we gaue notice to the said Duke, & all the inhabitants of the said towne, least any thereof should take allarome, or any whit doubt of our intent in this point: which order at the beginning the Burgeses and dwellers seemed to take quietly and in good part: howbeit within a while after matters grewe so hot, & that the rather through the induction of diuers who wandring vp & downe enformed the said inhabitants that we had not brought in the said forces for any other end, but only to establish forreign garrisons within the towne aforesaid, yea, and to deale worse then so: wherby in short space they had so animated & stirred them vp, that if we had not expressly forbidden the leaders of our troopes frō attempting any thing against the said inhabitants, & withall commanded them rather to beare and indure all extremities then to offer any violence, we doo vndoubtedly beleue that it had bin vnpossible to eschew the generall lacke of the towne, & much bloudshed. This when we perceiued, we determined to cease the execution of the searches aforesaid, also to cause our forces to retire, who we had not brought in, but vpon that only occasion: as also it was no other like, but that if we had met otherwise we wold haue attempted, yea, & peraduenture put in execution whatsoever our purposes, before the rising of the said inhabitants either that they had drawn their chaines or erected their defences in the streetes, which immediatly after noone they went in hand withal, and in a maner in one instant throughout all the streetes of *Paris*, being thereto induced and perswaded by sundry gentlemen, Captaines, & other strangers sent in by the said duke of *Guise*, who to the same end, in verie short space appeared, diuided and aranged throughout euerie quarter of the towne. Hereupon causing the said *Switzers* and french companies, to returne, the said inhabitants to our great grieve discharged diuerse Harquebuze shotte, and dealt some blowes which light chiefelic vpon the sayde

Switzers, whom the same euening we commanded to retire
 & lodge about our Castle of the *Louure*, there to expect the
 euent of this commotion of the said townesmen: for the ap-
 peasing wherof, we did al that possibly we could, yea so farre
 forth, as the next day to procure all the said cōpanies, except
 such as before their cōming in, we had placed in gard before
 our said castle, to depart the town, as being enformed that in
 so doing, we might greatly cōtent & pacifie the said inhabi-
 tants: as also we caused to stay some remainder of the cōpa-
 nies of foot-men of the regiment of *Picardy*, albeit they were
 7. or 8. leagues off, together with diuers lords and gentlemē
 our seruants that drew vnto vs: as considering that the same
 had bred some shadowe to this people, also that they tooke
 hold of this pretence, whereby the more to prouoke and stir
 thē vp. Al this notwithstanding, in lieu of finding our wished
 effect to their owne benefit & our contentation, they neuer-
 thelesse still proceeded in raising their bulwarkes, strengthe-
 ning their gard night & day, & approaching the same toward
 our said Castle of the *Louure*, euē to the very sentinels of our
 ordinarie guard, as also they seised vpo the townhouse of the
 same towne, together with the keyes of *S. Antonies* gate & o-
 ther the gates therof: so that by the 13. of this moneth, mat-
 ters were run so far, that it seemed vnpossible by mā's power
 to stop the effect of greater violence & commotion, euen be-
 fore our said castle gates. This when we perceiued, and being
 neuertheles vnwilling to employ our said forces against the
 said inhabitants, as hauing euermore held the preservation
 of the said towne with the inhabitāts therof, as deere as our
 owne life, as in sundry their occasions they haue wel tried, &
 is euidēt to al men, we determined the same day to depart,
 and rather to absent our selues, & abandon the place which
 aboue all the world we most loued, and so doo still desire to
 doo; then to see it incurre further hazard, or receiue greater
 damage: hauing withal entreated our most honorable Lady
 & mother to stay, & try whether she might through her dis-
 cretiō & autoritie in our absence be able to find any means,
 howe to appease the saide tumult, which notwithstanding,
 whatsoeuer her endeuors, she could not in our presence per-
 forme, and so are come into this our towne of *Chartres*, from
 whence

whence we thought good immediately to send you these presents, therein desiring you to consider of the consequence of this cause, how prejudiciall and hurtfull it will be, in case it go forward, vnto the common cause, especially to our holie catholike, apostolike and romish religion, sith that they who were wont to fight together for the propagation therof, shall through this accident (if it be not remedied) be disynited & forced to turne their weapons each against other: to eschew the falling whereinto wee pray you to beware, that for our parts we will do whatsoeuer possibly we may: of such force is the zeale that we beare vnto our said religion, as hetherto we haue sufficiently caused to appeare. We also, so much as in vs lieth, exhort and pray you, to procure supplications vnto God in your churches for this reuision, as also for the obedience vnto vs due, to be obserued according as is meet, and not to suffer the inhabitants of our town of M. to depart the right pathes therof: but to admonish and perswade them to remaine quiet and constant in their loyalties to their king: and in vnion and concord one with an other, so to maintaine and preserue themselves vnder our obedience, and not to incur the discommodities for them provided, if they take any other course. Thus besides that you shal performe an action worthy your discretions, fidelities and duties, which may be a notable example to al subiects, we shal yeeld you thanks for ever, and acknowledge it to you and yours.

Given at Chartres. May. 1588.

The copie of a Letter written by the duke of Guize vnto the king, the xvii. day of May,

Sir, such is my mishap, that they which of long time haue by sundry sleights sought to estrange me from your presence and fauour, haue beene of power sufficient to make whatsoeuer the good endenours that I haue put in practise, for to come neere you, and by my seruices to grow into your Maiesties liking, vtterly vnprofitable. Wherof of late days (to my great grieve) I haue had more triall then euer before. For

being wearied with so many false bruits and slanders where-
 with they haue vsed to keepe your maiestie in mistrust of me,
 I thought it good, euen with the hazarde of that with which
 I was threatned, to iustifie my life, being (to that end resol-
 ned) to come vnto you with so small companie and so great
 confidence & franchise, as I hoped therby to shew, and that
 to euery man, that I was farre off from that wherewith my
 euil willers so subtilly sought to bring me into suspition: but
 the eniries of the common peace and mine, not being able
 to abide my presence about you, as imagining that the
 same would in fewe dayes discover the subtilties which they
 practised to bring mee into hatred, and fearing least by lit-
 tle and little I should recouer your fauour, they chose ra-
 ther by their pernicious counsailes to bring againe al things
 into confusion, and to bring both your state and your towne
 of *Paris* into hazarde, then to suffer mee to be about you.
 Their bad minds haue manifestly beene descried in the reso-
 lution, which without the Queens your mothers knowledge,
 and the aduise of your wisest Counsaillers, they haue caused
 your maiestie to take: that is, by an vnusuall way, and in time
 full of suspition and partialitie, to bring in forces into your
 towne of *Paris*, and to seise vpon the publike places there-
 of: yea, the common speech is, that they hoped, hauing once
 become masters thereof, to be able to induce you to manie
 things farre from your nature, which also I had rather passe
 ouer in silence. The terrour heereof, sir, hath forced your
 good and faithfull subiectes to arme themselues, through a
 iust feare, least by this meanes the thinges whereof long be-
 fore they were threatned might bee put in execution. But
 God of his holie grace contained matters in better staie
 then man coulde hope, and as it were miraculously pre-
 serued your towne out of a most perillous hazarde: The
 beginning, course and euent of this matter hath so iustified
 my intents, that I suppose your Maiestie and all the worlde
 doth thereby cleerely perceiue howe farre my behauiours
 haue differed from those practises, whereof my slanderers
 doo seeke to make mee guiltie. The manner howe I did
 voluntarilie habandon my selfe into your power, do shewe
 what confidence I reposed in your goodnesse, and the sin-
 ceritie

63
certitie of my conscience. The state wherein I was found when
I first vnderstood of this enterprise (which many of your ser-
uants can testifie) doo sufficiently shewe that I stood in no
doubt of being hurt, neither had any mind to enterprise, as
remaining more solitarie and charmed in my houle, then
one of my calling either may or ought to doo. The respect
that I haue vsed, containing my selfe within the simple
bounds of a iust defence, may sufficiently testifie vnto you,
that no occasion whatsoever, is able to make me fal from the
dutie of a most humble subiect. The paines that I tooke to
restraine the people, and keepe them from proceeding to
those effectes which such accidents doo for the most part
bring in, do discharge me from the slanders heretofore laid
vpon mee. viz. *That I was wont to trouble your town of Paris.*
My care to prelerue euen those whome I knowe to haue
plaied some badde partes against mee about you, by the
prouocation of my enimies, doo manifestly declare to eue-
rie man that I neuer intended to attempt anie thing against
your seruants and officers, as they haue falsely accused mee.
My behauiours toward your Suitzers, their capitaines, and
the souldiers of your guard doo sufficiently assure you, that
I neuer feared any thing so much, as to displease you. If your
maiestie haue knowne of all these particularities (as Lima-
gine, that sundrie your good seruants, louers of publike
quietnesse, who are witnesses of the same, haue not concea-
led them from you) I doo assuredly thinke that you are
thereby perswaded that I neuer had, euen the least of those
badde meanings whereof my enimies through false re-
portes haue sought to bring mee into hatred: and I hope
fir, that the ende wil yeeld more assured testimonie thereof,
as hauing conceived one of the greatest griefes that could
happen mee, when I heard that your maiesty was resolved to
depart: because your so suddaine going away tooke from me
all meanes of being able, according to my purpose, to accom-
modate euerie thing to your contentation: where to I did al-
redy see them disposed at such time as it pleased the Q. your
mother to come hither, whereof I gaue her such testimonies as
I account she cannot but thinke to be certaine. Howbeit sith
I then could not, yet will I fir, still continue the same minde,
and

and hope so to beare my selfe, that your maiestie shall iudge me to be a most faithfull subiect and seruant, who desireth nothing so much, as by wel doing and procuring the benefite of your realme to obtaine the good happe of your fauour, which I will neuer cease seeking vntill God hath giuen mee the meanes: whome I beseech, sir, to grant vnto your Maiestie, &c.

From Paris the 17. of May. 1588.

*An extract out of other letters written by the
said L. duke of Guize.*

WE had enough to do to strengthen our selues against the sleights daily framed against vs, wherby to seeke some colour not to passe into *Guyenne* against the heretikes: we went to satisfie the king about his garrisons in *Picardie*, and albeit this regiment had not taken the countercourse, but to refresh ancient enmities, and to seeke new contritions, yet did we force our friends for one moneth, vnprofitably to suffer the forces of *Espernon* ouer their heades, whē afresh for the greater hinderance, the said *Espernon* went to seeke some brawle in *Normandie*, and there had he found it verie hot, had not we, vpon a desire to see the war against the heretikes proceede, husbanded his affaires and procured our friends to refraine, and not to hinder, or in any wise molest him. All this notwithstanding, the more to entangle vs as wel through these superfluous garrisons and lost iournies, as also for the vtter breaking of the course of this warre, and turning it against vs, they framed vs a match to our honor, spreading abroad diuers rumors, whereby to cause vs to be more feared then the heretikes themselves: as that wee delighted in a massacre at *Paris*: That we purposed to seise vpon the kings person: That we meant to sacke the towne, and so to leaue come wherewith to make warre against whom we list, with manie other like impressions which they beate into his maiesties heade with the best colours that they coulede, so to make them the more receineable. This was their last sleight, which also drue vs into greatest dispaire, considering that the king went
about

about rather to provide for these mistrusts then to continue the warre against the heretikes: also that our wretchednesse was such, as among some to be so accounted of, yea so farre forth, as even his holines thereupon tooke an argument, by a writing of his, to exhort vs to fidelitie toward the king our soveraine. This dispaire, I say, at the last impression thereof tooke sure hold of men, when I vnderstood that his maiestie strengthened his garde with foure ensignes of Frenchmen, and three of Zwitzers, so that to the end not to remaine so much as one houre in suspition of so villanous actions, I came about twelue of the clock into *Paris*, accompanied with eight gentlemen, and through the middest of all the guards aforesaid, I passed to kisse his maiesties hands, carrying with me no other safe conduct then my seruices, together with the confidence that euery good subiect ought to repose in his king. This franchise, sinceritie and open heart, should, as I thought, haue brought me a cleare iustification from all these passed false reports. And in truth there was no honest man but was glad in his minde, as euery one might manifestly perceauce. The next day, being still in my conscience assured, I was all the day about the king, sometime inclosed in the *Tuilleries*, discoursing of the voyage into *Guernsey*, & of this war, whereto I was so affectionate. In these days, as it is to be presumed, the king tooke informations from all parts, whither I had any greater traine than the same that was seene at my comming: Then knowing, as the truth was, that I was thus alone, and had not so much as one man of warre within forty leagnes of me, see, the very next morning the twelfth of May, there entred by day twelue ensignes of Zwitzers and eight ensignes of French footmen at *S. Henri* gate, besides the foure of the guard, the king & all his court being on horsebacke to receiue them. The master of the campe of the regiment of the guards, and the Zwitzers Colonels were commanded to go & seise vpon all the strengths of *Paris*, and least they should finde any let, the inhabitants were from the one end of the towne distributed cleane contrarie to their quarters, so to breed the desire to breake off themselves through the care of abandoning their wives & children in such an accident. While these things were thus

ordered, I being a sleepe in my lodging with so small a companie (for my traine, was not yet come from *Soissons*) as God would, while they were distributing their forces into so manie places, I had leasure to be aduertised thereof, and sundry Gentlemen my friends, being at *Paris* about their affaires, came vnto me: but especially God myraculouſly stirred vp all the people with one consent to runne to armes, and without any conference together, being assured of my presence, and through some order which suddenlie I tooke among them, of themselves they went about to accomodate their affaires, & on euery side to fortifie themselves within tenne paces of the forreine power, and that with such readines and vehemencie, that in lesse than two houres they warned the said troopes presently to retire out of the towne and suburbs. Hereupon also about the same time it chanced in some quarter a Switzer to wound a townsman, whereupon the townesmen fell vpon the Switzers that were there, of whome they slew some twelue or fiftene, wounded some twentie or fiewe and twentie, and vnarmed the rest. In an other place some companies of the kinges guardes were also vnarmed & cast into the houses, where with their Captaines they were forced to shut vp themselves. Hereuppon I marched through the towne, and at my first comming, deliuered nine hundred Switzers prisoners, and sundry of the souldiers of the guard, whome I caused to be safely conueyed to the *Louure*. This day (all thinges shining with the infallible protection of God) being come to an end, I went through al the streetes vntill two houres after midnight, praying, entreating and threatning the people, so that through Gods grace there ensued neither murther, massacre, pilferie, or losse of one pennie, or of any one droppe of bloud ouer and aboue the aforesaid, albeit the people were extremely enuenimed, as knowing (said they) that there were twentie gibets readie together with sundrie schaffalds, and that they had seene the executioners of high Iustice ready to put to death a hundred or sixe score persons, whom they named; and I had rather you should imagine then I write downe. I can not conceale the great contentation that this woonderfull grace of God bredde in mee. First, for that I see my hand so clearly freed

freed from these suspitions of sacke and massacre which they had endeouored to perswade so manie good men of: for sith I was able to performe it and yet so happely kept it from being knowne, I thereby stopped all my enimies mouthes. Secondly, because I gaue sufficient prooffe of my zeale to my kings seruice, and how in that I procured the deliuerie euen of the weapons which had beene borne against my selfe, together with their sifes and droms, the reconducting of the prisoners, the returning of their ensignes, and the deliuerie of the besieged, & so declined in no sort from the due respect in matter where the most constant might haue lost it. Then laboured they so much that they perswaded the king to depart, foure and twentie houres after that I might (if I had list) haue staied him, but God forbid that I should so much as haue dreamed thereof. Since his departure his Maiestie hath had some other counsaile and bitternesse. I tooke into my handes the *Arsenall*, the *Bastile* and other the strong places, and procured the coffers of his exchequer to be sealed vp, to the end to consign the whole into his Maiesties handes when he shall be at peace, as wee hope to yeeld him through our prayers to God, and the intercession of his holinesse and all Christian Princes, and in respect of this notable and not common prooffe of fidelitie which it hath pleased him to commit into my handes. Otherwise, if this mischiefe continue, I hope by the same meanes to preserue both the religion and the *Catholikes*, and to set them free from the persecution which the *heretikes* confederates that are about the king did prepare for them.

E I N I S.